

A GRAMMAR OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

WOLFDIETRICH
FISCHER

THIRD REVISED EDITION
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

JONATHAN RODGERS

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS • NEW HAVEN & LONDON

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JOURNAL ABBREVIATIONS

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Translator's Preface

Wolfdietrich Fischer's *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium, NS XI, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972 (reprinted with additions to the bibliography in 1987) is unquestionably the most useful reference grammar of the classical language for graduate students who have acquired proficiency in German. It is both sufficiently concise for quick reference as the student works on classical texts and rich in content to instill confidence. Although for the English-speaking student, W. Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 1991) contains far more material, its inconvenient arrangement, obsolete English style, and often unhelpful historical and comparative linguistic data make it less than ideal for quick reference and possibly confusing. Of course, as a comprehensive resource for the study of the classical Arabic language, Wright is unsurpassed. For the English-speaking student—or one with inadequate command of German—and, especially, for the student who might be under certain conditions disinclined to invest effort and time in consulting the exhaustive richness of Wright, there has been no suitable reference grammar. This translation of Fischer's *Grammatik* aims to make up for that lack and place into the student's hands a useful and accessible reference tool.

The transliteration of the Arabic examples is based on the system employed by the English *Encyclopædia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden, 1954), with two notable exceptions, namely ق is rendered by *q*, rather than *k*; ج is *j*, rather than *dh*. Thus, ث, خ, ذ, ش, غ are *th*, *kh*, *dh*, *sh*, *gh*. The ل of definite article is assimilated to the following "sun" letters, so that الشَّمْسُ is rendered *'ash-shamsu*, rather than *al-shamsu*.

The original bibliography, now more than ten years old, has been updated with significant and major contributions to the field of classical Arabic grammar and linguistics. Since, however, almost all recent books and articles on classical Arabic grammar and its cognate fields are indexed or available in full-text in one or several electronic resources, the translator felt that an exhaustive update in print would be superfluous. Thus, the updated bibliography presented here is expected to serve only as an initial reference tool.

The idea to undertake the translation of Fischer's invaluable resource was conceived long ago when the translator was a graduate student who felt acutely the need for a handy English-language reference resource to aid in working on classical texts. The work was not begun until recently and has progressed unsteadily as time permitted. Originally planned to be completed several years ago, it only now appears thanks to persistent and gentle reminders from the editors at Yale University Press and the forbearance of the translator's employer and spouse.

The translator is pleased to acknowledge the indispensable and patient assistance of the author, who graciously provided changes and additions to the original text for incorporation into this updated English edition. The chapter on syntax, especially, benefits from his numerous additions and improvements.

Well-deserved credit is due Wolfhart Heinrichs, who willingly and patiently read through the translation, spotted numerous errors in translation and style, and contributed valuable and much appreciated suggestions for improvement.

The contribution of Peter T. Daniels, who volunteered to undertake the laborious task of proof-reading the final draft, is gratefully acknowledged. His acute eye eliminated countless misspellings, inconsistencies, and other typographical blunders.

This work was produced with Eberhard Mattes' typesetting program EMT_εX, in combination with Klaus Lagally's set of T_εX macros, ArabT_εX. Their valuable contribution is hereby gratefully recognized. ArabT_εX significantly facilitated the typesetting of the text in mixed Arabic and Roman fonts.

This work is dedicated to two towering figures of American scholarship, John Rodgers, geologist and musician, and Franz Rosenthal, Arabist, Islamicist, and Semitist. Their inestimable and unmatched work continues to challenge and inspire us.

Jonathan Rodgers
Ann Arbor, April 2000

Preface

For German readers, Carl Brockelmann's *Arabische Grammatik* has served for more than half a century as the textbook presenting a systematic grammar of classical Arabic. The longevity of his grammar is due to its exactness and precision, as it masterfully limits itself to the essentials. His description of the syntax represents a significant advancement in Arabic grammatical studies. When Otto Harrassowitz invited me to undertake a revision of this tried and proven text, which had already gone through fourteen editions, it immediately became clear that it was really time to begin from the ground up. Reworking the old grammar was out of the question.

Earlier grammars had borrowed their system of description from the Arab grammarians and adapted it to the style of Latin grammars used in schools. When Carl Brockelmann undertook his revision of Socin's *Arabische Grammatik* for *Porta linguarum orientalium* in 1904, he was still working on his *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. In particular, the syntax in this small Arabic grammar benefited from the results of this historical-comparative study. Since then, however, our understanding of this area of Arabic grammar has grown, as basic research in grammatical methodology has progressed. Research begun a few decades ago that has led to a clearer knowledge of Akkadian has thrown into question many of the old principles of Semitics and demands a completely new presentation of the historical-linguistic issues. Modern linguistics justifiably requires that a grammar emphasize the descriptive aspect over historical speculation, which has, indeed, proven to be an inadequacy of previous grammatical descriptions.

A grammar that is intended to be used mostly as a teaching and reference work, and thus is not a linguistic treatise, should not experiment with methodological and terminological innovation. Therefore, traditional terminology and, in general, the traditional arrangement of the grammar have been preserved, although efforts have been made to present a description consistent with current theory. It has avoided, accordingly, a break with tradition.

Those who wish to embark on training in classical Arabic and those who are already well-acquainted with it have an equal need for a systematic grammar that contains not just the bare essentials, but also everything that is necessary for the interpretation of texts. Brockelmann's treatise, despite its excellence, is too terse. Whenever searching for help in interpreting difficult passages, one must resort to Wright's larger and more comprehensive work, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, or to the more specialized works on syntax by Hermann Reckendorf. In producing a new grammar of classical Arabic, I took efforts to offer more comprehensively and present

as elaborately and completely as possible all the grammatical material required for the interpretation of classical prose as one might encounter under normal circumstances. The material selected is representative of the morphology and syntax of normal classical Arabic. Deviations from the norm, as they occur in pre- and post-classical texts, are pointed out in the notes. The information presented should also be more than sufficient for the understanding of poetical texts.

The examples cited are for the most part borrowed from the standard grammatical treatises (Wright, Nöldeke, Reckendorf, Brockelmann, Wehr, Spitaler) and to a smaller extent are supplemented from my own stock. As is usual in a work intended for instructional purposes, the origin of the examples is not given in detail. Specialists will be able to find out in most cases the sources without too much difficulty. Only citations from the Koran are noted as such. As far as possible, the example phrases in the chapter on syntax are taken from prose texts. Since, however, so much previous research has been based on poetical texts, the goal of drawing examples exclusively from prose sources could not always be fulfilled. Nevertheless, examples from poetry, when they are not explicitly so indicated, are used only if they can illustrate prose usage as well.

Description of the functions of morphological groups (e.g., forms of the verb, state of the nominal forms, elative, etc.), as well as the formal description of word constructions (e.g., genitive constructions, numerical expressions, agreement), can be found in the section on morphology. This arrangement represents a departure from the traditional, in which such grammatical material is usually treated in syntax. Similarly, the function and formal arrangement of the particles within the sentence structure are also presented in morphology. The treatment of the syntax itself then comes in its proper place: It comprises the description of the sentence composed of its parts (Syntax: Parts of the Sentence) and the hierarchical arrangement of the clauses that make up the sentence (Syntax of Clauses). Consistently, I have attempted to underpin the syntactic system with a formal theoretical basis. Such an arrangement of the material is best suited for introducing features of the language with which the beginner is unacquainted. The arrangement according to function can readily offer to users of this grammar the facts about function and meaning of specific linguistic phenomena.

A consistent arrangement with numerous cross-references whenever several principles are involved in one and the same feature, as well as repetition, when necessary, should make it easier for the user to look up and locate specific morphemes and structures. The rules are concisely formulated, and the examples provided are selected to be as representative as possible. The illustrative text and examples provided are intended to supplement one another and to be mutually self-explanatory. References to

other sections of the work should not be overlooked. The reference numbers always refer to paragraph numbers (§). Numbers following decimal points refer to the notes: §110.5 means §100, Note 5.

Arabic citations and examples are vocalized only in the phonology and syntax chapters. In morphology, the unvocalized Arabic is provided with transliteration. That offers the advantage of allowing the reader to become accustomed to seeing unvocalized text, as is the normal situation in Arabic texts. Additionally, this manner of representation allows one to see clearly how Arabic forms are correctly transcribed, an important feature, given the increasing significance of transcribed citations in the scholarly literature. Hypothetical forms are noted by a preceding *, and historical development or origin of forms is noted by > or <.

Earlier grammars usually offered the terminology of the Arab grammarians. By design, most of the Arabic technical terms are absent from this treatise. After considerable thought, they were left out and should be reserved for a specialized description of the system of native Arabic grammar. The system used in this grammar does not rely on the Arabic grammatical tradition. The use of Arabic terminology would, if it were employed, inevitably cause misunderstandings. Only occasionally, and only when an Arabic expression has been naturalized in European grammars, has it been employed.

The notorious difficulties of classical Arabic have their origin not only in the language itself and its inadequate and equivocal orthography, but also in the paucity of useful aids available to the student. The lexicon and grammar are still far from the point where the language can be said to be fully probed and understood. This grammar claims only to attempt to gather together in a concise and clear manner the results of previous scholarship and fashion these into a grammatical system that adequately describes the language. In undertaking this endeavor, several Arabists, foremost Prof. Anton Spitaler and Prof. Hans Wehr, have supported me by offering their friendly advice and many valuable ideas. I hereby extend to them my sincere gratitude. The publication of a new edition in English gives me the opportunity to add some corrections and improvements. Finally, I feel bound to say special thanks to Jonathan Rodgers, who spared no effort to translate this book precisely and in an adequate manner.

Erlangen, April 1996
Wolfdietrich Fischer

Introduction

As a result of the conversion of Arabs to Islam and their establishment of the Islamic empire, Arabic, originally a language of poetry and religion, arose as the linguistic medium of learning and literature for the entire Islamic world. Muslims employed this language, known to us as classical Arabic, in government administration, in literature and science. After the revival of modern Persian and the rise of popular literary languages like Turkish began to constrain the far-flung realm of Arabic in later centuries of the empire, classical Arabic continued to serve as the language of learning for the Islamic world, particularly in the area of religious scholarship. Wherever used, Arabic has maintained the status of a language of the learned and cultured. Modern written Arabic is, indeed, a continuation of and the current version of classical Arabic.

From its earliest times to the present, Arabic has remained superficially almost unchanged. Apart from a few details, the morphology of the old poetic language and that of modern written Arabic are identical. Although the language has continued naturally to change and adapt to new circumstances in many aspects of word usage, in choice of syntactic patterns, and in style, the vocabulary and syntax have remained fundamentally similar.

The "classical" period of this learned literary language occurs in the late eighth and ninth centuries, the golden age of the Abbasid Caliphate. In Kufah and Basrah, philologists had begun to impose on the grammar an academic system, assemble the lexicon, and write the works of lexicography. Mastery of classical Arabic became the highest ideal in the education of Muslims. Philology and grammar became the most thoroughly cultivated sciences in the Islamic world.

Vintage texts of pre- and early Islamic poetry served preeminently as the foundation and prototype of the philological discipline that took shape in the 9th century, while the Koran also played a role. These "pre-classical" old Arabic texts, however, frequently exhibit subtle differences from the language of the "classical" period: Among them is a degree of morphological freedom and archaism that did not gain acceptance in prescriptive grammatical circles and therefore vanished from the classical language. It is difficult, however, to draw a precise boundary between the "pre-classical" language of the pre- and early Islamic corpus and the "classical" language of the philologically learned, because the early texts were widely known, learned, and admired. To speakers of Arabic, *belles lettres* means almost exclusively poetry. In poetry, the often celebrated poets of pre- and early

Islamic times have always been invoked, and archaic forms and unusual syntactic constructions recur with equal frequency in the poetry of later generations.

Despite the prescriptive preoccupation of Arab philologists and grammarians and the language's almost definitive stabilization by the 9th century, classical Arabic did not cease to exist as a natural language. There was constant contact with the spoken language alongside the pursuit on the part of scholars of more precise and flexible means of expression. Out of these conditions, new stylistic and syntactic formations soon developed. By the end of the tenth century, the classical period had ended and gave way to a post-classical form whose constructions and expressions, although rejected by prescriptive grammatical norms, became widely accepted. Nevertheless, the demarcation is equivocal. For every writer who faithfully adhered to classical models, there was another who felt little compunction about indulging in innovation.

From the beginning of its tradition, from the pre-classical language of pre- and early Islamic poetry up through modern written Arabic, classical Arabic has been the language of poetry, culture, literature, and science, the language of the school and education, but not the everyday spoken language. Coexisting with the classical tongue has been another Arabic that contrasts in some respects in morphology and syntax and that is exclusively spoken and not written. Command of the cultural language has always been an issue of education and scholarship. Of course, there were writers who had little or no familiarity with grammatical rules and who thus consistently used forms and expressions from the spoken Arabic in the written or incorrectly used classical forms. We call the language of such writers "Middle Arabic", because it occupied an intermediate position between the learned language and the spoken. Examples of this form exist abundantly in documents of Christian or Jewish origin. The maintenance of classical Arabic was the principal concern of Muslims who revered it as the language of the Koran.

Despite some modification, the structure of classical Arabic, which had stabilized in the 9th century, has remained a genuine immutable standard. The description of classical Arabic necessarily focuses on the language of the "classical" period. This grammar treats above all this classical language. Insofar as it is possible from the current state of research, the "pre-classical" and "post-classical" languages are referred to as divergent forms. Deviations from the classical norm, which cannot be unequivocally identified as either pre- or post-classical, are designated "non-classical".

Writing System

The Alphabet

§1. In the 3rd century AD, Arab Nabateans, although they had normally used Aramaic as their written language, began writing Arabic. The 22 letters of the Aramaic alphabet, some of which in the course of time had acquired the same shape, could not adequately represent the 28 consonantal phonemes of Arabic. The Arabs had to distinguish the ambiguous letters they had adopted with diacritical marks. The original Aramaic order of the alphabet is preserved when the letters serve as numbers (see table):

ت ش ر ق ص ف ع س ن م ل ك ي ط ح ز و ه د ج ب ا

Various writing styles developed during Islamic times, including, among the most important, the monumental *kūfī* and the cursive *naskhī*. A peculiar style, the *maghribī* extended throughout North Africa (*Maghrib*) and Muslim Spain. Today, the most frequently encountered printed fonts are based on the *naskhī*.

Note 1. Script without diacritical marks is called *rasm* رسم. Diacritical marks are partly or altogether lacking in some manuscripts.

Note 2. In the Maghribi style of writing, ف (fā') is used in place of ق (qāf) and ق in place of ف (qāf).

Note 3. Today, the order of the letters in the alphabet is for the most part determined by similarity of shape. Instead of the order ی و ه as the last three letters, one sometimes encounters an older order ی و ه. There are also other sequences. In Muslim Spain and North Africa the usual order was:

ه ش س ق ف غ ع ض ص ن م ل ك ط ز ر ذ ا ح ج ث ت ب ا ی و

§2. Arabic writing runs from right to left. Some letters are joined to each other, while others are separate. The letters و ز ر ذ ا connect only to the preceding, not to the following, letter. Thus, a letter that follows one of these must assume its initial form: صاحب *ṣāhib*, أهل *ahl*, صديق *ṣadīq*, أذن *uḏhun*, رأس *ra's*, منزل *manzil*, موضع *mauḏi'*, وفد *wafd*.

Table of the Arabic Writing System

Isolated	From Right	Medial	To Left	Transcription	Letter Name	Numeric Value
ا	ا	—	—	ʾ, ā	ʾalif	1
ب	ب	ب	ب	b	bāʾ	2
ت	ت	ت	ت	t	tāʾ	400
ث	ث	ث	ث	th	thāʾ	500
ج	ج	ج	ج	j	jīm	3
ح	ح	ح	ح	h	hāʾ	8
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh	khāʾ	600
د	د	—	—	d	dāl	4
ذ	ذ	—	—	dh	dhāl	700
ر	ر	—	—	r	rāʾ	200
ز	ز	—	—	z	zāy	7
س	س	س	س	s	sīn	60
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh	shīn	300
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ	ṣād	90
ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ	ḍād	800
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ	ṭāʾ	9
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ, ḍ	ẓāʾ	900
ع	ع	ع	ع	ʿ	ʿayn	70
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh	ghayn	1000
ف	ف	ف	ف	f	fāʾ	80
ق	ق	ق	ق	q	qāf	100
ك	ك	ك	ك	k	kāf	20
ل	ل	ل	ل	l	lām	30
م	م	م	م	m	mīm	40
ن	ن	ن	ن	n	nūn	50
ه	ه	ه	ه	h	hāʾ	5
و	و	—	—	w, ū	wāw	6
ي	ي	ي	ي	y, ī	yāʾ	10

For pronunciation, see §§27 ff.

§3. Calligraphy prescribes the use of ligatures to join certain letters:

- a) Initial forms of ی ن ث ت ب, when joined to ح ح ج and م create the following ligatures, respectively: یح, یخ, یج, etc., or یح, یخ, یج, etc., and یح, یخ, یج, etc., or یح, یخ, یج, etc. Similarly, ف and ق join with ح ح ج to form, respectively: فح or فح, etc.

Note 1. For typographical reasons, certain ligatures containing ح ح ج, such as یح, یخ, یج, etc., are avoided in print. Instead, such combinations as یح, یخ, یج, etc., are employed.

- b) The *lām-alif* ligature is written لا and لا, respectively; *lām-mīm*, لم and لم, respectively; *kāf-alif*, کا; *kāf-lām*, کل; *kāf-lām-alif*, کلا.

Note 2. In the لا *lām-alif* ligature, of Nabatean origin, it appears that the left shaft, *lām*, and the right, *alif*, cross to form لا < *لا.

- c) Before final ی ن ث ت ب and ق ف are shortened to: فی نی تی بی, etc. Before ی and ر ز, the “teeth” of س ش and ض ص are altered to form the ligatures: ضی صری شزی.

- d) In combination with ر ز and final ن, the medial form ٴ of ب ت ب ن ی is changed as follows: بر, etc.

Note 3. In a sequence of several letters of the basic form of ٴ or ٴ — including the “teeth” of ض ص ش س — alternating higher and lower forms are used to distinguish the letters. The sequence begins with a lower form: تنسب *tanassaba*, يتنبت *yataṭhabbatu*, شتیت *shatīt*, تصنیف *taṣnīf*.

Note 4. ی is also written ی (with two points under the form, as in, ی). In many countries, ی is employed to express *ī* and *ay*, while ی is used to express *ā* (§10).

Orthography

§4. The orthography of classical Arabic was fixed during the 8th–9th century by the Arab grammarians. With few exceptions, classical orthographic conventions have remained valid until the present for the written language. Some archaic, pre-classical spellings have been preserved in the classical orthography (cf. §§7.7; 8; 9; 10.2). These archaic writing conventions origi-

nated in a form of Arabic that in several respects deviated from the classical norm, but they were adopted anyway almost without change by classical Arabic. The most important deviations are: ˆ (*hamzah*) was not pronounced within a word or in final position; occasionally, it was replaced by *w* or *y* (§14). The noun case endings *-un*, *-in*, *-an* were lacking. The feminine ending was *-ah* (§13). In adapting the orthography to the phonology of classical Arabic, auxiliary orthographic signs were introduced. These include signs to denote vowels, which were imperfectly represented in a writing system that consisted of consonant signs only. The auxiliary signs are used consistently and fully only in the Koran and frequently in poetry. For the most part, they are employed as needed to assist the reader through difficult texts, or frequently they are completely lacking.

Short Vowels

§5. The short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are rendered by diacritical marks placed above or below the consonant that precedes them. (For the romanized pausal forms of the Arabic technical terms, see §57.)

1. َ (فَتْحٌ *fathah*) *a* (فَتْحٌ *fath*): مَنَعَ *mana'a*, ذَهَبَ *dahaba*.
2. ِ (كَسْرٌ *kasrah*) *i* (كَسْرٌ *kasr*): شَرِبَ *shariba*, قَبِلَ *qabila*.
3. ُ (دَمَمٌ *dammah*) *u* (دَمَمٌ *damm*): عَظُمَ *azuma*, عَلَ *alu*.

§6. ْ (*sukūn*) marks the absence of a vowel after a consonant. At the end of a word, this sign is called جَزْمَةٌ *jazmah*: بَلَّ *bal*, نِعمَ *nima*, يَكْتُبُ *yaktub*.

Note 1. On the dropping of *sukūn* with *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, see §7. For other examples, see §18.

Long Vowels

§7. Long vowels are represented by: ̄ = *ā*, ̄ = *ī*, ̄ = *ū*, where the preceding letter retains the corresponding short vowel sign (i.e., َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*). Usually, however, ْ *sukūn* is not placed over ̄ ̄ ̄ : قَاتَلَ *qātala*, نُوزِعَ *nūzīa*, لُومِي *lūmī*, سِيرِي *sīrī*. On the other hand, *sukūn* is written where ̄ and ̄ represent *aw* and *ay*: لُومِي *lawmī*, سِيرِي *sayrī*.

Note 1. For ̄ representing *ī*, *ay* and ̄, see §§3.4; 10.

Note 2. A "silent" ا follows و in the plural verb ending -ū, -aw: كَتَبُوا *katabū*, يَكْتُبُوا *yaktubū*, رَمَوْا *ramaw*, يَلْقَاو *yalqaw*.

Note 3. For metre and *tajwīd*, the vowels in the personal pronoun suffixes ُ, ِ, ِ usually count as short, if a closed syllable precedes, but long if an open syllable precedes. There is no orthographic distinction made: دَارُهُ *dāru-hū*, رِجْلِهِ *rijli-hī*, رَمَاهُ *ramā-hu*, يَرْمِيهِ *yarmī-hi* (§268).

Note 4. Final -ī in هِ *dhihī*, هَذِهِ *hādhīhī*, تِه *tihi*, هَاتِه *hātihi* 'these' (fem.), is not written. In the Koran, the same kinds of spellings also occur frequently in other words: رَبِّ *rabbī* 'my lord', صَلَّ *ṣalī* 'burning'. In poetry, they are often encountered at verse end where all vowels count as long (§56c).

Note 5. Final -ū in هُمْ *humū*, كُمْ *-kumū*, تُمْ *-tumū* (§264.2) is not written.

Note 6. For metre in poetry, أَنَا *anā* 'I' usually counts as *ana*.

Note 7. Despite their short *u*, the plural demonstratives (§274 f.) are commonly written with و: أُولَى *ulā*, أُولَئِ *ulā'i*, أُولُو *ulū*, أُولَئِكَ *ulāka*, أُولَئِكَ *ulārika*.

§8. In archaic spellings, for example in the Koran, ā is not consistently represented by ا. To distinguish long from short vowels, *alif* is introduced as a vowel sign: قِيَامَةٌ = قِيَامَةٌ *qiyāmatun* 'rising up', إِلَهَ = إِلَهَ *ilāhun* 'god', ثَلَاثٌ = ثَلَاثٌ *thalāthun* 'three', لَكِنْ = لَكِنْ *lākin* 'but', etc. In some words, this spelling is consistently used: هَذَا *hādhā* 'this', اللَّهُ *al-lāhu* 'God', الرَّحْمَنُ *ar-raḥmānu* 'the merciful', ذَلِكَ *dhālika* 'that'.

Note 1. For technical reasons, sometimes just َ (*fatha*) is printed in place of ِ : هَذَا, i.e., *hādhā*, إِلَهَ, i.e., *ilāhun*.

§9. Some words ending in *ātun* have preserved a historical spelling with an Aramaic antecedent: صَلَاةٌ and صَلَاةٌ *ṣalātun* 'prayer', حَيَاةٌ and حَيَاةٌ *hayātun* 'life', زَكَاةٌ and زَكَاةٌ *zakātun* 'alms', مَشْكَاةٌ and مَشْكَاةٌ *mishkātun* 'lamp niche'. Similar examples of historical orthography are found in رِبَا (الرِّبَا) *ribā* (ar-ribā) 'usury', تَوْرَاةٌ and تَوْرَاةٌ *tawrātun* 'Torah'.

§10. At the end of a word, \bar{a} is frequently written with ی (§3.4): رَمَى *ramā* 'he threw', ذِكْرَى *dhikrā* 'remembrance', عَلَى *alā* 'on', بَلَى *balā* 'certainly!'. When such an \bar{a} occurs within a word, it is written with ا: رَمَاهُ *ramāhu*, ذِكْرَاهَا *dhikrāhā*. The following rules for the writing of \bar{a} with ی obtain: With verbs, writing with ی is the rule; only in the basic stem (I) of verbs ending in *w* (III-*w* §250) is it written with ا. With nouns, ی figures when \bar{a} is not part of the stem (§64 b). Stem final \bar{a} should be written with ا only in III-*w* roots; see also §12.

Note 1. After ی, ا is always used to represent \bar{a} : دُنْيَا *dunyā* 'world' (not دُنْيَى), أَحْيَا *aḥyā* 'revived' (not أُحْيَى).

Note 2. In Koranic spelling, ی for \bar{a} is often retained within a word before an affix. *Alif* is used as a vowel sign to designate \bar{a} (cf. §8), as it does for final \bar{a} : رَمَى *ramā*, رَمَاهُ *ramāhu*, سَمَاهُمْ *sīmāhum*.

Note 3. The Arab grammarians applied the term *أَلِفٌ مَقْصُورَةٌ* *alif maqṣūrah* to \bar{a} written with ی (and ا), in contrast to *أَلِفٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ* *alif mamdūdah* for $\bar{a}u(n)$ written with اء.

Tanwīn (Nunation)

§11. The consonantal writing system does not represent the noun endings \bar{u} , \bar{i} , \bar{a} (§147). These must be indicated by diacritical marks \bar{u} , \bar{i} , \bar{a} . The accusative ending, \bar{a} , is additionally accompanied by ا (*alif*): رَجُلٌ *rajulun*, رَجُلٍ *rajulin*, رَجُلًا *rajulan*. ا does not appear with the accusative diacritic \bar{u} , however, in the feminine ending \bar{a} -an (§13): مَدِينَةٌ *madīnatān*, جَمِيلَةٌ *jamīlatān*, or in words ending in \bar{a} : سَمَاءٌ *samā'an*.

Note 1. An archaic spelling has been preserved in the proper name 'Amr: Nominative عَمْرُو *Amrun*, Genitive عَمْرٍو *Amrin*, Accusative عَمْرًا *Amran*. The و serves to distinguish graphically 'Amr from the otherwise similarly written proper name 'Omar: Nominative عَمَرَ *Umaru*, Genitive, Accusative عَمَرَ *Umarā*.

Note 2. The writing ا occurs both in إِذَا *idhā*, alongside اِذَنْ *idhan*, 'then, therefore', and in the energetic ending \bar{a} -an (§215): يَنْفَعَا *yanfa'an* or يَنْفَعُنْ *yanfa'an*, 'may it be useful'.

§12. In nouns whose stem final *-ā* is written with *ی* (§10), when the *-n* ending is added, the spelling with *ی* is retained and the final *-an* is written *هُدَى* *hudan*, *فَتَى* *fatān* (compare *أَلْهُدَى* *al-hudā*, *أَلْفَتَى* *al-fatā*). The spelling with *ی* *ā* is the rule, if *y* is the final root letter; however, if it is *w*, *ا* is written: *عَصَا* *aṣan* (compare *أَلْعَصَا* *al-aṣā*).

Note 1. Spellings with *ی* and *ا* alternate frequently in nouns: *عَصَا* *aṣan* or *عَصَى* *aṣan* (root *-ṣ-w*), *حَشَا* *ḥaṣhan* or *حَشَى* *ḥaṣhan* (root *ḥ-sh-w*).

Tā marbūṭah

§13. The origin of the orthography of the feminine singular ending *-at(un)*, *-āt(un)* is non-classical *-ah*, *-āh* (§4). To produce the classical pronunciation, the two points of the *ت* are placed on the *o*: *كَلِمَةٌ* *kalimatuṇ*, *كَلِمَاتٍ* *kalimatin*, *كَلِمَاتَانِ* *kalimatan* (§11), *فَتَاةٌ* *fatātuṇ*, *فَتَاتٍ* *fatātin*, *فَتَاتَانِ* *fatātān*.

Hamzah

§14. The glottal stop, *ʾ*, which in classical Arabic is a phoneme, was preserved only at the beginning of a word in the non-classical language, according to the consonantal writing system. In initial position, it was indicated by *ا*: *أَمْرٌ* *amr* 'order', *إِبِلٌ* *ibil*, 'camel', *أُخْتٌ* *ukht* 'sister'. In all other positions, since it was no longer pronounced, *ʾ* was not written. In syllable-final position, the disappearance of *ʾ* caused the lengthening of the preceding sound: *رَأْسٌ* *rās* 'head' in place of classical *رَأْسٌ* *rāsun*, *بَيْرٌ* *bīr* 'well' for classical *بَيْرٌ* *bīrun*, *بُؤْسٌ* *būs* 'misery' for classical *بُؤْسٌ* *būsun*. Vowels of like quality were contracted after the disappearance of *ʾ*: *رُؤُسٌ* *rūs* 'heads' for classical *رُؤُسٌ* *rūsun*, *سَأَلٌ* *sāla* 'ask' for classical *سَأَلٌ* *sāla*; between vowels of different quality, *w* or *y* developed: *سُؤَالٌ* *suwāl* 'question' for classical *سُؤَالٌ* *suwālun*, *قَائِمٌ* *qāyim* 'standing' for classical *قَائِمٌ* *qāyimun*, *خَطِيئَةٌ* *khaṭīyah* 'sin' for classical *خَطِيئَةٌ* *khaṭīyatun*. After consonants, *ʾ* was completely dropped or replaced by *y* or *w* for morphological reasons: *بَدَأٌ* *badʾun* 'beginning' for classical *بَدَأٌ* *badʾun*, *مَسْأَلَةٌ* *masʾalatun* 'question' for classical *مَسْأَلَةٌ* *masʾalatun*, *سَوَاهٌ* *sawwah* 'disgrace' for classical *سَوَاهٌ* *sawwahun*.

At the end of a word, *ʾ* disappeared after long vowels: *سَمَاءٌ* *samā* 'heaven' for classical *سَمَاءٌ* *samāun*, *بَرِيٌّ* *barī* 'innocent' for classical *بَرِيٌّ* *barīun*, *سُوٌّ* *sū* 'evil' for classical *سُوٌّ* *sūun*.

§15. In classical Arabic orthography, َ (هَمْزٌ *hamz*) is represented by ء (*hamzah*), where, depending on the spelling convention, ا, ي, و serve as carriers (or 'seats'), or, if none of these letters is available, ء has no seat. If *hamzah* falls on ي or و, the letter loses its diacritical points. The following rules for the writing of *hamzah* obtain as a result of historical orthography:

- At the beginning of a word, ا carries *hamzah*: أَمْرٌ *amrun*, إِبِلٌ *ibilun*, أُخْتُ *ukhtun*.
- Before and after ا, ا carries *hamzah*, if i or u is not in contact: رَأْسٌ *ra'sun*, أَرَأْسٌ *ar'asu*, سَأَلَ *sa'ala*, قَرَأَ *qarara*.
- Before and after و, و carries *hamzah*, if i is not in contact: بُؤْسٌ *bwsun*, أَبُؤْسٌ *abusun*, رَوْفٌ *rarufa*, رُؤْسَاءُ *ruwasāu*.
- Before and after ي, ي carries *hamzah*: بَيْرٌ *birun*, أَسِيلَةٌ *asilatun*, كَيْبٌ *kariba*, قَائِمٌ *qārimun*, رِئَاسَةٌ *ri'āsatur*, سَيْلٌ *swila*.
- At the end of a syllable, *hamzah* is written without a seat following a consonant or long vowel: سَمَاءٌ *samārun*, بَرِيءٌ *barīrun*, سُوءٌ *sūrun*, بَدءٌ *bad'un*, شَيْءٌ *shayrun*, شَيْئًا *shayan*.
- Within a word, ء is written without a seat after a consonant or long vowel in the classical orthography: سَاءَلٌ *sā'ala*, مَسْأَلَةٌ *mas'alatun*, سَوَاءٌ *saw'atun*, خَطِئَةٌ *khaṭ'atun*. Today, however, one usually encounters these spellings: مَسْأَلَةٌ or مَسْئَلَةٌ, سَوَاءٌ, خَطِئَةٌ.

Note 1. The ء sign derives from ع (ع).

Note 2. After stem final -ā, the accusative ending -an is not marked by ا: سَمَاءٌ *samā'an* (not سَمَاءًا); see §11.

Note 3. Today, the sound sequences َī and َū within a word are usually written وَي and وَو. Older spellings avoid the sequence of two ي's or و's and prefer وَي and وَو: رُؤُسٌ = رُؤُوسٌ *ru'usun*, كَيْبٌ = كَيْبٌ *karibun*.

Note 4. An isolated historical spelling occurs in مِائَةٌ *mi'atun* 'hundred'.

Maddah

§16. Rather than $\bar{\text{ll}}$ for \bar{a} , to avoid two successive $\bar{\text{l}}$'s, one writes: $\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{d}}$ (مَدَدَة) *maddah*: $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ أَكِلُون *ākilun*, $\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ قُرْآن *qurānun*, $\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{u}}$ رَاوْه *ra'āhu*.

Note 1. In archaic spelling, for example in the Koran, *madda* identifies the sound sequences \bar{a} , \bar{v} , \bar{w} (long vowel + $\bar{}$): أَصْدِقَاؤُهُ \bar{a} ṣḍiqā \bar{u} hū, يَجِيءُ \bar{y} ajī \bar{u} , يَاجِرُهُ \bar{y} ajirū, سُوْرِلَا \bar{s} ū \bar{r} ila.

Shaddah

§17. Doubling of a consonant is indicated by ّ (شِدَّةٌ *shiddah*): نَزَّلَ *nazzala*, بَشَّارٌ *bashshārun*, نَوَّرَ *nawwara*, سَيِّدٌ *sayyidun*, سَأَلَ *sawālun*. Since *ī* is the same as *iy* and *ū* the same as *uw* (§28), the sequences *īy* and *ūw* can be transliterated *iiy* and *uww*: صَبِيٌّ *ṣabīyūn* (*ṣabiyyun*), عَدُوٌّ *‘aduwwun* (*‘aduwwun*).

Note 1. The sign z is derived from ز , that is, shaddah.

Note 2. In modern printing, ـَ *kasrah* is usually placed immediately under ز , while ـِ *fathah* lies on top: $\text{نَزَّل} = \text{نَزَل}$ *nazzil*.

Note 3. When part of a doubled consonant is an element of inflection, only one letter is written, and it bears the *shaddah*: اِتْرَكَ *(i)t-t-araka* (§170), ثَبَّتْ *thabat-tu* (§207). One spells forms resulting from assimilation in the same way: مِمَّنْ *mimman* < *min-man*, اَلَّا *allā* < *ʿan-lā* (§45).

§18. The *l* of the definite article (ʾa)-*l*- is assimilated to the following consonant, if the forward part of the tongue is involved in its articulation (the “sun” letters [§44]). ل is always written, and the assimilation is indicated by ʾ placed over the following letter. ل does not take *sukūn*: اَلْدَّارُ ʾad-dāru < ʾal-dāru, اَلرَّجُلُ ʾar-rajulu < ʾal-rajulu, اَلسَّنَةُ ʾas-sanatu < ʾal-sanatu, اَلنَّارُ ʾan-nāru < ʾal-nāru, but اَلْجَارُ ʾal-jāru, اَلْبَابُ ʾal-bābu. Before *l*, the article behaves as it does in assimilation: اَللَّيْلَةُ ʾal-laylatu, اَللِّسَانُ ʾal-lisānu; also اَللَّهُ ʾal-lāhu “God” < ʾal-ʾilāhu “the god” (§49d).

Note 1. Note the writing of only one ل in the following forms of relative pronouns: اَلَّذِي *alladhī*, اَلَّذِينَ *alladhīna*, اَلَّتِي *allatī*, while the other forms are spelled with two ل's: اَلَّذَانِ *al-ladhāni*, اَلَّتَانِ *al-latāni*, اَللَّوَاتِي *al-lawātī*, etc. (§281).

Note 2. In the same way as with articles, the spelling of other words may occasionally reveal assimilation, for example: شَهِدْتُ *shahidtu* > *shahittu*, غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ *ghafūrun raḥīmūn* > *ghafūrur-raḥīmūn* (Koran 2:173, 182, 192, etc.); cf. §48.

Waṣlah

§19. Classical Arabic does not allow a double consonant at the beginning of a word and avoids the possibility by introducing an auxiliary vowel that precedes an initial double consonant. The orthography requires that an *l* introduce a word that would otherwise begin with a double consonant. In non-classical Arabic, on which the orthography is based, the auxiliary vowel became an essential component of the word: اِسْمٌ *ism*, classical (ʾ*i*)*smun* 'name', اِبْنٌ *ibn*, classical (ʾ*i*)*bnun* 'son', اِنْصَرَفَ *inṣaraf*, classical (ʾ*i*)*nṣarafa* 'turn away', اَخْرَجَ *ukhruj*, classical (ʾ*u*)*khruj* 'go away!'. In such cases, in classical Arabic context, the ʾ is not pronounced. The *l* that is written is therefore merely a silent sign augmented by وَصْلَةٌ (*waṣlah* or صِلَّةٌ *ṣilah*): وَاسْمُهُ *wa-'smuhu* 'and his name', فَانْصَرَفَ *fa-'nṣarafa* 'then he turned away', يَا اَبْنِي *yā 'bnī* 'oh my son'; at the beginning of a phrase, however: اَخْرُجْ *ukhruj*.

Note 1. The *—* sign derives from *ص*, that is, صِلَّةٌ *ṣilah* 'connection'.

Note 2. In Arabic grammatical terminology, *alif* that takes *waṣlah* is called اَلِفُ الْوَصْلِ *alif al-waṣl*.

Note 3. In foreign words, initial double consonants are likewise eliminated; nevertheless, the preceding auxiliary vowel becomes an essential component of the word and is maintained within a phrase: اِقْلِيمٌ *iqḷīmūn* 'region' < Greek κἄλμα, اَفْلَاطُونُ *aflātūnu* 'Plato', اَسْطُولٌ *astūlun* 'fleet' < στόλος.

§20. Within a phrase, if a vowel precedes a word that begins with a double consonant, no auxiliary vowel is needed: هَذَا اَبْنُهُ *hādhā 'bnuhū* 'This is his son', قَالَ اَخْرُجْ *qāla 'khruj* 'He said, go away!'. If a consonant precedes, however, an auxiliary vowel *i*, *u*, *a* (§54) that produces another syllable is attached to the final consonant of the preceding word: قَدْ اَنْصَرَفَ *qad-i 'nṣarafa* 'He has gone away', رَأَوْا اَلْبَابَ *ra'aw-u 'l-bāba* 'They saw the door' مِنْ اَبْنِهِ *min-i 'bniḥ* 'from his son'.

Note 1. Note how the article precedes *alif al-waṣl*: اَلْاَنَمُ (ʾa)l-i-ʾsmu 'the name', اَلْاَشْتِرَاءُ (ʾa)l-i-ʾshṭirāʾu 'the act of buying'.

Note 2. If *tanwīn* (-un, -in, -an §§11; 12) precedes *alif al-waṣl* within a phrase, there is no way to represent the auxiliary vowel in writing. Yet, the auxiliary vowel is pronounced: رَجُلٌ اَبْنَتُهُ جَمِيلَةٌ *rajulun-i 'bnatuhū jamīlatun* 'a man whose daughter is beautiful', مُحَمَّدٌ الْقُرَشِيُّ *Muḥammadun-i 'l-Qurashīyyu*.

§21. In the following cases, *l* is *alif al-waṣl*:

- In the words اِسْمٌ (ʾi)smun 'name', اِبْنٌ (ʾi)bnun 'son', اِبْنَةٌ (ʾi)bnatun 'daughter', اِسْتٌ (ʾi)stun 'buttocks', اِمْرُؤٌ (ʾi)mruwun 'man', اِمْرَأَةٌ (ʾi)mraʾatun 'woman', اِثْنَانِ (ʾi)thnāni, fem. اِثْنَتَانِ (ʾi)thnatāni 'two'.
- In the article اَلْ (ʾa)l- (§142b).
- In the imperative of the basic verbal stem (§220b).
- In the perfect, imperative, and verbal noun of the derived verbal stems VII اِنْفَعَلَ (ʾi)nfaʿala, VIII اِفْتَعَلَ (ʾi)ftaʿala, IX اِفْعَلَّ (ʾi)fʿalla, X اِسْتَفْعَلَ (ʾi)staʿfala, XI اِفْعَالَ (ʾi)fʿāla, XII اِفْعَوْعَلَ (ʾi)fʿawʿala, XIII اِفْعَوَّلَ (ʾi)fʿawwala, XIV اِفْعَنْلَلَ (ʾi)fʿanlala, XV اِفْعَنْلَى (ʾi)fʿanlā, and the verbal stems III اِفْعَنْلَلَ (ʾi)fʿanlala, IV اِفْعَلَّلَ (ʾi)fʿalalla of quadriliteral root verbs (§169 ff.).

§22. In a few fixed constructions, *alif al-waṣl* is not written:

- In the construction consisting of the particles *li-* and *la-* and the article: لِرِ الرَّجُلِ *lir-rajuli* (not لالرجل *lal-rajul*), لَلْمَجْدُ *lal-majdu* (not لاللمجد *lal-lamjad*). If in such cases the following noun begins in *l*, the *l* of the article is not written: لِاللَّيْلِ *li-laylati* (not لالليلة *lal-layla*), لِلَّهِ *li-llāhi* 'for God' (not لاله *lāla*).
- In اِبْنٌ (ʾi)bnun 'son' and اِبْنَةٌ (ʾi)bnatun 'daughter' in apposition in genealogical phrases, مَالِكُ بْنُ سَعْدِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ *Maliku bnu Saʿdi bni Tha-labata*. If بِنَ, بِن are at the beginning of a line, however, they are written with *l*.
- In the word اِسْمٌ *ismun* in the formula بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ *bi-smi 'l-lāhi* 'in the name of God'.

Words Joined in Writing

§23. The particles and prepositions ب *bi-*, ت *ta-*, س *sa-*, ف *fa-*, ك *ka-*, ل *la-*, لِ *li-*, و *wa-*, which consist of single letters, are joined to the words that follow: بِبَلَدٍ *bi-baladīn* 'in a country', تَاللّٰهِ *ta-'l-lāhi* 'by God!', سَيَأْتِي *sa-yatī* 'he will come', لِيُفْرَحَ *li-yafraḥa* 'let him be happy', وَأَسْوَدَّ *wa-'swadda* 'and became black'. With the enclitic particle *mā*, the spelling varies between unjoined and joined forms: بَعْدَ مَا *ba-da mā* or بَعْدَمَا *ba-da-mā*, طَالَ مَا *ṭāla mā* or طَالَمَا *ṭāla-mā*. The elements must be written as one word when *mā* is shortened to *ma* (§285b): فِيمَ *fī-ma* 'in what?', عَلَامَ *alā-ma* 'on what?' (= عَلَى + م).

Abbreviations

§24. Abbreviations are generally idiosyncratic. Only a few formulaic expressions are abbreviated, and they are marked as such with — over the abbreviation:

عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ = *alayhi 's-salām(u)* 'Upon him be peace!'

صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ = *sallā 'l-lāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam(a)* 'God bless him and grant him salvation' (eulogy for the Prophet Muhammad).

رَضِيَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهُ = *raḍiya 'l-lāhu anhu* 'May God be pleased with him' (eulogy for the Companions of the Prophet).

رَحِمَهُ اللّٰهُ = *raḥimahu 'l-lāhu* 'May God have mercy upon him' (eulogy for the dead).

إِلَىٰ آخِرِهِ = *ilā 'ākhirihī* 'To its end', i.e., 'etc'.

إِلَىٰ هَهُنَا = *ilā hahunā* 'To here', i.e., 'the citation goes this far'.

حَدَّثَنِي = *ḥaddathani* 'He reported to me'.

حَدَّثَنَا = *ḥaddathānā* 'He reported to us'.

أَخْبَرَنَا = *akhbaranā* 'He transmitted to us'.

Numerals

§25. The numbers, which the Arabs borrowed from India, are written as follows:

•	١	٢	٣	٤ or ٥	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

For example: ٣٧٩ 379, ١٣٢٠ 1320.

Note 1. Notice that the numerals are written from left to right.

The letters of the alphabet can also be used to represent numbers (see p. 4, table of the Arabic writing system): ١١ يا, 45 مه, 109 قط.

Phonology

Phonemes

§26.

a) Vowels:	sonant	short	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
		long	<i>ā</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
	consonantal			<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
b) Consonants:	Non-emphatic		Emphatic		
	Labial	<i>f b m</i>			
	Apical	<i>t d</i>	<i>ṭ ḏ</i>	<i>ṭ ḏ (z)</i>	
	Sibilant	<i>s z</i>	<i>ṣ ḏ</i>		
	Liquid	<i>r l n</i>			
	Dorsal	<i>k g (j)</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	<i>q</i>	
	Pharyngeal	‘ <i>ḥ</i>			
	Laryngeal	’ <i>h</i>			

Note 1. All consonants, including the semi-vowels *y, w*, can be geminated: *nazala* ‘come down’ : *nazzala* ‘send down’, *qawāmun* ‘uprightness’ : *qawwāmun* ‘established’.

Pronunciation

§27. The Arab grammarians described the phonemes of classical Arabic according to place and manner of articulation. The earliest classification is that of al-Khalīl (d. 786/7). Sībawayh (d. 793) and later grammarians provided an array of elaborate systems in which they classified the phonemes variously according to manner of articulation. The following description of articulation is based on Classical Arabic as it is spoken today in the Arab world.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians’ conception of phonetics was influenced by the written form. They called the vowels (*a, i, u*), which are represented by diacritical marks (§5), *ḥarakāt* *ḥarakātun* (sing. *ḥaraka* *ḥarakatun*, ‘movement’). The other phonemes, represented by letters, including *ā, ʾ, ʾi, y, ū, w*, were *ḥurūf* *ḥarfun* (sing. *ḥarf* *ḥarfun* ‘edge, letter’).

Note 2. The orthography distinguishes two phonemes ض *ḍ* and ظ *ḍ̤* (*z*) that have merged in modern Arabic dialects. Originally, the articulation of ض was probably lateral. The present-day pronunciation of ض — ظ is *ḍ* in Bedouin speech, and *ḍ̤* in urban speech. This variation is secondarily used to distinguish ض from ظ, as ض is associated with the sound *ḍ*, and ظ, with *ḍ̤* or *z* (§31.1). Therefore, it is customary to transliterate ض *ḍ*, and ظ, *z*. In this chapter on phonology, ظ is rendered by *ḍ̤*; elsewhere in the grammar, it is romanized as *z*.

Vowels

§28. a) The short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are sonant. They never occur at the beginning of a syllable (§51). *y* and *w* are consonantal vowels. They can appear at the beginning and the end of a syllable. Sonant and consonantal vowels may combine homogeneously or heterogeneously: homogeneous contact *iy* = *ī*, *uw* = *ū*, heterogeneous contact *ay*, *aw*. The long vowel *ā* is ambiguous in that it can be regarded as a double sonant or as a sonant-consonantal combination: *nāma* 'sleep' with *ā* = *a-a* (morpheme type *fa'ala*), *khālun* 'uncle' with *ā* = *a* + consonant (morpheme type *fa'lun*).

b) The consonantal nature of *y* and *w* is evident in pronunciation only at the beginning of a syllable. At the end of a syllable, *y* and *w* are sonantized by the preceding sonant, so that homogeneous combinations are pronounced as long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, heterogeneous combinations, as diphthongs [ai], [au].

Note 1. The sound sequences *iiy* (*īy*) and *uww* (*ūw*) are written يِّي *iiy*, وَّو *uww* (§17). A distinction between transliterations *iiy* and *īy*, *uww* and *ūw* should be made for morphological reasons: عَدُوٌّ *adūwun* 'enemy' (morpheme pattern *fa'ūlun*), قَوَادُّ *quwwādun* 'leaders' (pl.) (morpheme pattern *fu'ālun*).

Note 2. In the passive of verbal stems II, III, V, and VI, the orthography distinguishes for morphological reasons between *ūw* and *uww* in II-*w* verbs: قُوِّمَ *qūwima* (*fū'ila*), قُوِّمَ *quwwima* (*fu'ila*).

§29. The vowels exhibit a number of variants conditioned by contact. Contact with emphatic consonants usually results in back (velarized) variants. Contact with non-emphatic apicals, sibilants, and liquids commonly causes palatalization. The tense articulation of the pharyngeals is likewise transferred to following vowels. Precise rules for the distribution of conditioned variants do not exist for classical Arabic.

Note 1. Arab grammarians called the palatalized articulation ^{إِمَالَة} *imālah* and the velarized articulation, ^{تَفْخِيمٌ} *tafkhīm*.

Note 2. The word *allāh(u)* 'God' is pronounced with distinct *tafkhīm*: [ʔallāh]. The velarized articulation does not occur if *i* precedes the *ll*: *bi-llāh(i)* [billāh].

Consonants

§30. Non-emphatic consonants:

Labial: *b* and *m* are bilabial. *f* is labio-dental.

Note 1. *f* replaces *p* in foreign words and personal names: ʔaflātūnu < Πλάτων (§19.3), *farādīsu* 'paradise' (plural) < Greek παράδεισος.

Apical: *t* and *d* are alveolar stops. *t* is aspirated. *th* and *dh* are interdental spirants.

Note 2. Speakers of dialects lacking *th* and *dh* occasionally substitute *s* for *th*, *z* for *dh*, and *ʒ* for *ḏ* (§31a).

Sibilants: *s* is voiceless; *z* is voiced; *sh* is voiceless.

Liquid: *r* is a voiced dental vibrant ('r' flapped at the tip of the tongue); *l* is lateral; *n* is nasal.

Note 3. Before *b*, *n* is usually assimilated partially [m]: *janbun* [jambun] 'side'.

Dorsal: *k* and *g* are palatal stops. *kh* and *gh* are velar spirants. *k* and *kh* are voiceless; *g* and *gh* are voiced.

Note 4. The original pronunciation of *g* is preserved in Lower Egypt (Cairo). In other dialects, *g* is pronounced as a pre-palatal affricate [j], as a voiced sibilant [zh] (voiced correspondent of *sh*), or as a palatal semi-vowel [y]. The description of *g* by Arab grammarians indicates that they had in mind a [j] pronunciation. Therefore, it is common to pronounce classical Arabic *g* as [j] and transliterate it also as *j*.

Pharyngeals: ʿ and ḥ are produced by tightening the glottis while raising the larynx against the pharynx. ʿ is a voiced, ḥ an unvoiced, spirant.

Note 5. Since there is not any oral constriction in the articulation of ḥ, ʿ, ḥ, these sounds have an affinity to *a*. One perceives an *a* after ʿ and ḥ, which is only an attendant feature of their articulation; frequently, however, *a* after ʿ, ḥ, ḥ acquires the status of a phoneme: *shaʿarun* occurs alongside *shaʿrun* ‘hair’ (§38).

Laryngeal: ʔ (*hamzah*) is a glottal stop. In Arabic it is a consonantal phoneme and appears not only before vowels but also after vowels at syllable end: *yaʾmuru* ‘he ordered’, *raʾsun* ‘head’. *h* is a laryngeal spirant, which, like ʔ, can occur at syllable end: *fahmun* ‘understanding’.

§31. a) The emphatic consonants, in contrast to their non-emphatic counterparts, have an additional feature of articulation: velarization. Velarization is the raising of the back portion of the tongue against the velum to further constrict the space. The raising of the back of the tongue involves the larynx and the base of the tongue, and the result is a slightly constricted articulation. Velarization in the production of *t*, *d*, *s* shifts the apical constriction back from the alveolar ridge toward the base of the tongue. According to rules of pronunciation for Koran reciters, *d* is an emphatic interdental spirant (§27.2).

Note 1. Speakers of dialects that have no interdental spirant substitute *z* (the emphatic counterpart of *z*) for *d* (§30.2). It is common, therefore, to transliterate the letter ط in classical Arabic with *z*.

Note 2. In contrast to *t*, emphatic *t* is not aspirated.

b) *q* is a voiceless postvelar, or uvular, stop, the emphatic counterpart of *k* and *g*. Commonly described as velarization, the palato-dorsal articulation of *k*, *g* moves back, as the back of the tongue is raised towards the uvula.

Note 3. In Bedouin dialects, *q* is pronounced as a voiced [g]. This pronunciation was recognized by the Arab grammarians.

Stress

§32. Nothing is known about stress in classical Arabic at the time of its codification by the Arab grammarians. Egyptian Koran readers determine the placement of word stress according to the following rules:

- a) The final syllable never carries the word stress.
- b) The main word stress never falls back beyond the antepenultimate syllable.
- c) The penultimate syllable is stressed, if it is closed (§51): *qátala* : *qatálta*, *raqábatun* : *raqabātun*, *raqabatāni*.
- d) In the construct state (§146), the final syllable counts as part of the following word: *ṭalábatun* : *ṭálaba|tu* 'l-*ilmi*.
- e) One-syllable proclitic particles are not stressed: *fa-máshā*, 'al-*ábu*, *bi-ábi*, 'al-*ládhi* (§281).

In some regions, different stress patterns are used, in which the pre-antepenultimate syllable may receive stress: *mámlakatur* vs. *mamlákatur*, *qátalahū* vs. *qatálahū*.

Combinatory and Historical Phonology

Vowels

§33. When the sequence *iw* and *uy* occurs, the similarity of *i* and *y*, *u* and *w* usually produces a levelling of the heterogeneous vowels.

a) *iw* regularly becomes *iy* (*ī*), when *w* ends a syllable: *īqā'un* < **īwqā'un* (root *w-q-*), *mizānun* < **miwzānun* (root *w-z-n*), *mitatun* < **miwtatun* (root *m-w-t*). *īw* also becomes *īy*: *ālīyun* < **ālīwun* (root *-l-w*).

Note 1. *iw* becomes *iy* in verbal nouns and plural morphemes of the pattern *fī'ālun*, even though *w* would be at the beginning of a syllable: *qiyāmun* 'standing' (root *q-w-m*), *thīyābun* 'garment', plural of *thawbun*. In other cases, *w* is maintained: *qiwāmun* 'foundation' (§248.4). In morphemes of the pattern *fī'alatun* *iw* > *iy* is optional: *thīwaratun*, *thīyaratun*, plural of *thawrun* 'bull'.

b) *uy* becomes *iy* (*ī*), or, infrequently, *uw* (*ū*): *bīdun* < **buydun* (root *b-y-d*), stem *talaqqī-* < **talaqquy-* (§34), *aydīn*, stem *aydī-* < **ayduy-* plural of *yadun* 'hand' (root *y-d-y*). *ūy* also becomes *īy*: *marmīyun* < **marmūyun* (root *r-m-y*), *huwīyun* < **huwūyun* (root *h-w-y*) (§34), *uḡhnīyatun* < **uḡhnūyatun*. In verb stem IV of I-*y* roots, morphologically distinctive *u* is preserved. Thus, *uy* must become *uw* (*ū*): *yūqīnu*, *mūqīnu* < **yuyqīnu*, **muyqīnun*.

Note 2. *uy* is maintained, if *y* is geminated (*yy*): *ṣuyyira*; cf. §68 c. In cases like *liyyun*, *luyyun*, i.e., pattern *fū'lun* of the root *l-w-y*, either possibility exists.

Note 3. Notice *ūy* > *īy*, when the personal pronoun suffix *-ya* (§269 c) is added. In morpheme pattern *fū'ila* of II-*y* roots, morphological *ū* is preserved: *zūyila* 'was separated'.

Note 4. Infrequently in pre-classical texts, *uy* > *iy* in morpheme patterns *fū'ūlun* and *fū'aylun* of II-*y* roots is observed: *īyūnun* for *uyūnun* and *shīyaymun* for *shuyaymun*, *hīyayyun* for *huyayyun*.

c) *yw* and *wy* as a rule assimilate to *yy*: *ayyāmun* < **aywāmun* (root *y-w-m*), *ḡhayyun* < **ḡhaywun* (root *ḡh-w-y*), *ubayyun* < **ubaywun*, diminutive of *abun* 'father' (root *-b-w*). After *u*, *ww* replaces *yy*: *quwwatun* 'power' (root *q-w-y*).

Note 5. Sometimes, *yw* is maintained for morphological reasons: *ʾaywamu* = pattern *ʾafʿalu* of root *y-w-m*, *judaywilun*, diminutive of *jadwalun*.

§34. a) Although *-ā*, *-ī*, or *-ū* may occur in stem final position in verbs of III-weak roots, in nouns only *-ā* and *-ī* may occur in that position (§69 a). Accordingly, forms of the patterns *tafāʿul*, *tafʿul*, *ʾafʿul* with stem final *ī* are treated as forms of III-*y* with *uy > iy* (§33 b): *tarāmī* = *tafāʿul* pattern of the root *r-m-y*. In the same way, nominal *fuʿūlun* (§88) is formed with *y* as the third radical: *ʿuṣṣiyun* = *fuʿūlun* of the root *ʿ-ṣ-w/y*. In verbal *fuʿūlun*, as well as *faʿūlun* and *maʿūlun*, however, there is variation between III-*w* and III-*y* (§§256 b; 257.1).

b) Sonant suffixes are contracted into stem-final *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*. Suffixed sonants *a*, *i*, *u* merge into *ā*: *yalqā* = **yalqā-a* (*yafʿala*) or **yalqā-u* (*yafʿalu*), *ʾalā* = **ʾalā-u*, *-ī*, *-a* (*ʾafʿalu*, *ʾafʿali*, *ʾafʿala*). Only *i*, *u* are contracted into stem-final *-ī*, *-ū*; suffixed *a*, however, is preserved after *-ī*, *-ū*: *talaqqī* = **talaqqī-u*, *-i* (*tafaʿulu*, *tafaʿuli*), *talaqqiya* (*tafaʿula*); *yadʿū* = **yadʿū-u* (*yafʿulu*), *yadʿuwa* (*yafʿula*); cf. §252.

Note 1. After *www* (*ūw*) and *iyy* (*īy*), contraction does not occur: *yamānī* = **yamānī-u*, *-i* (§116.1), but *yamaniyyu*, *yamaniyyi*.

§35. a) The following contractions and vowel combinations occur when suffixes consisting of long vowels are attached to stems ending in vowels:

<i>ī-ī</i>	<i>> ī:</i>	<i>*tarmī-īna > tarmīna</i> , <i>*qāḍī-īna > qāḍīna</i>
<i>ī-ū</i>	<i>> ū:</i>	<i>*yarmī-ūna > yarmūna</i> , <i>*qāḍī-ūna > qāḍūna</i>
<i>ū-ī</i>	<i>> ī:</i>	<i>*tadʿū-īna > tadʿīna</i>
<i>ū-ū</i>	<i>> ū:</i>	<i>*yadʿū-ūna > yadʿūna</i>
<i>ā-ī</i>	<i>> ay:</i>	<i>*talqā-īna > talqayna</i> , <i>*ʾalā-īna > ʾalayna</i>
<i>ā-ū</i>	<i>> aw:</i>	<i>*ramā-ū > ramaw</i> , <i>*ʾalā-ūna > ʾalawna</i>
<i>ā-ā</i>	<i>> ayā:</i>	<i>*ramā-ā > ramayā</i> , <i>*fatā-āni > fatayāni</i>
	<i>> awā:</i>	<i>*daʿā-ā > daʿawā</i> , <i>*aṣā-āni > aṣawāni</i>

The distribution of *ayā/awā* is determined by the root consonant: *ramayā* (root *r-m-y*) and *daʿawā* (root *d-ʿ-w* §250).

Note 1. In nouns, sometimes both *ayā* and *awā* are possible: *qanawātun*, *qanayātun*, plurals of *qanātun* (stem *qanā-*) 'cane'.

b) If \bar{a} is suffixed to a noun ending in $-\bar{a}$ (§§10; 64 b), $\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ always becomes $ay\bar{a}$: * $\underline{dhikr\bar{a}}-\bar{a}tun > \underline{dhikray\bar{a}tun}$, * $\underline{hubl\bar{a}}-\bar{a}ni > \underline{hublay\bar{a}ni}$. If the noun ends in $-\bar{a}u$, $-\bar{a}un$ (§64 c), $\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ always becomes $\bar{a}w\bar{a}$: * $\underline{\text{ṣaḥr}\bar{a}}-\bar{a}ni > \underline{\text{ṣaḥr}\bar{a}w\bar{a}ni}$ ($\text{ṣaḥr}\bar{a}u$) 'desert', * $\underline{khaḍr\bar{a}}-\bar{a}tun > \underline{khaḍr\bar{a}w\bar{a}tun}$ ($\underline{khaḍr\bar{a}u}$) 'herbs', * $\underline{ḥirb\bar{a}}-\bar{a}ni > \underline{ḥirb\bar{a}w\bar{a}ni}$ ($\underline{ḥirb\bar{a}un}$) 'chameleon'.

Note 2. In nouns of III-weak roots with stem-final $-\bar{a}u$ (§69 b), \bar{a} is retained before the ending: $\underline{kis\bar{a}}-\bar{a}ni$ ($\underline{kis\bar{a}un}$) 'garment'. An exception is $\underline{sam\bar{a}w\bar{a}tun}$, plural of $\underline{sam\bar{a}un}$ 'heaven'.

Note 3. In the formation of the *nisbah* adjective (§117), $\bar{a}-iyy$ regularly becomes $\bar{a}wiyy$, but also in many cases $\bar{a}wiyy$.

c) \bar{a} is inserted to prevent contraction of the sequence $\bar{a}-i$ in stem morphemes: $\underline{q\bar{a}ilun} = \underline{f\bar{a}ilun}$ (stem $\underline{q\bar{a}l-}$) (§247 a), $\underline{faḍ\bar{a}ilu} = \underline{fa\bar{a}ilu}$ ($\underline{faḍil\bar{a}tun}$) (§98). \bar{a} also prevents contraction in $-\bar{a}u$, $-\bar{a}un$, inflected variants of $-\bar{a}$ (§64c).

§36. a) Consonantal vowels w and y as a rule do not fall between sonants. This is why, for example, there is no morpheme pattern $\underline{f\bar{u}lun}$ formed from III-weak roots and, for the most part, II- w . On this, cf. §60.

Note 1. II- y roots do have a $\underline{f\bar{u}lun}$ pattern: $\underline{buyuḍun}$, plural of $\underline{bayuḍun}$ '(egg-)laying'. Exceptionally, there is a $\underline{f\bar{u}lun}$ pattern of root II- w : $\underline{suwukun}$, plural of $\underline{siwākun}$ 'tooth cleaner'. Usually, the pattern $\underline{f\bar{u}lun}$ (a contraction of $\underline{uwu} > \bar{u}$) occurs instead: $\underline{sūkun}$.

Note 2. y or w between sonants in II-weak roots is sometimes avoided by forms with yy : $\underline{bayyūtun}$ 'stale' (otherwise $\underline{fa\bar{u}lun}$, root $b-y-t$), $\underline{sayyidun}$ 'master' (otherwise $\underline{fa\bar{u}lun}$, $\underline{f\bar{a}ilun}$, root $s-w-d$).

b) w and y , if they precede long vowels, can, however, fall between sonants: $\underline{qawāmun}$, $\underline{qiwāmun}$ (§33.1), $\underline{ṭawilun}$, $\underline{khawūnun}$, $\underline{ḥuwūlun}$. In forms based on II- w roots, wu , $wū$ may be replaced by \bar{u} , \bar{u} : $\underline{nawūmun}$ or $\underline{na\bar{u}mun}$ (root $n-w-m$), $\underline{khuwūl\bar{a}tun}$ or $\underline{khu\bar{u}l\bar{a}tun}$ (root $\underline{khw-w-l}$), $\bar{a}nwuqun$ or $\bar{a}nuqun$ (root $n-w-q$).

Note 3. There are occasional variants of I-*w* roots which appear with ʾ : ʾ*ir*thun ‘inheritance’ from *war*tha ‘inherit’.

Note 4. There are some II-weak roots that consistently have fixed consonantal *w* and *y*: ʾ*i*waḡun, ʾa^ʿwaḡun, ʾa^ʿwaḡu (§245.3).

§37. a) In the *fuʿūlun* pattern of III-*y* roots, like **huwūyun* > *huwīyun* (§§33 b; 34 a), the *u* of the first syllable can be assimilated to the following *īy*: ʾ*utīyun*, ʾ*itīyun* ‘coming’, ʾ*uṣīyun*, ʾ*iṣīyun* ‘sticks’, *quṣīyun*, *qisīyun* ‘bows’ (§88).

b) In the words (ʾ*i*)*mrwun* ‘man’ and (ʾ*i*)*bnmun* = (ʾ*i*)*bnun* ‘son’, the stem vowel assimilates to the inflectional ending: (ʾ*i*)*mrwun*, (ʾ*i*)*mrīin*, (ʾ*i*)*mrʾan*, and (ʾ*i*)*mrʾatun* ‘woman’; (ʾ*i*)*bnmun*, (ʾ*i*)*bnimin*, (ʾ*i*)*bnam-an*.

Note 1. Alternation of the stem vowel in harmony with inflectional ending was originally regular in several two-radical words (§70 b): *sanatun* ‘year’, plural *sunūna*, *sinīna*; *kuratun* ‘ball’, plural *kurūna*, *kirīna*. In classical Arabic, the alternation was discontinued: *sinūna*, *sinīna*; *kurūna*, *kurīna*.

Vowel Epenthesis

§38. Frequently after *r*, *l* and ʿ, *gh*, *h*, *h*, non-morphologically conditioned sonants are generated. These extra vowels are usually *a*, less often *i*: **ṭalbun* > *ṭalabun* ‘desire’, *ṭardun* or *ṭaradun* ‘hunting’, *halkatun*, *halakaturun* ‘ruin’, *raḡibatun*, *raḡabatun* ‘wish’, **sarqun* > *saraqun*, *sariqun* ‘theft’, *nahrūn*, *naharun* ‘river’, *shaʿrun*, *shaʿarun* ‘hair’, *daʿfun*, *daʿafun* ‘weakness’.

Consonants

§39. Classical Arabic has preserved almost unchanged the proto-Semitic inventory of consonantal phonemes. Only the sibilants have undergone simplification. Arabic *sh* is the successor of proto-Semitic *š. In Arabic, *s* represents the coalescence of proto-Semitic *s and *sh.

Root consonants (radicals) exhibit stability in all morphological variations. No assimilation occurs between root consonants in contact. Any assimilation that takes place is caused by consonants that are elements of inflectional morphology (§44 ff.).

Dissimilation of ʾ (hamzah)

§40. ʾ is dropped at the end of a syllable, if the syllable also begins with ʾ: ʾa > ā, ʾw > uw, ʾi > iy: *ʾa^hthara > ā^hthara, *ʾwminu > ūminu, *ʾimānun > īmānun, *ʾafāqun > āfāqun.

Note 1. In cases like *(i)ʾtamara > ītamara (§21 d), ʾi necessarily dissimilates only at the beginning of a phrase. Within a phrase, this form is pronounced ʾtamara (spelled فَائِز fa-ʾtamara). See §237.1.

§41. a) If two syllables beginning with ʾ follow one another, the second is usually dissimilated: ʾaʾimmatun > ayimmatun (root ʾ-m-m), *jāʾiun > *jāʾiyn > jāʾin ‘coming’. In *rīʾāun > riyāʾun ‘hypocrisy’ and *dhāʾāibu > dhawāʾibu ‘forelocks’, the second ʾ has to be preserved.

Note 1. As a rule, dissimilation does not occur in verbs I-ʾ after the prefix ʾu-: ʾwammilu ‘I hope’, ʾwānisu ‘I am familiar with’. There are, however, forms with w root variants: ʾuwāmīru, ʾwāmīru ‘I seek advice’, ʾuwāsī, ʾwāsī ‘I share’.

Note 2. In burāʾu > burāʾu (§90.3), the syllable is dropped following dissimilation of ʾ. Cf. §49 d.

b) If the first of two consecutive syllables beginning with ʾ ends in a consonant, the second ʾ may be dropped as the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened: ʾabārun or ābārun, plural of bīrun ‘well’, ʾarāmun or ārāmun, plural of rīmun ‘white gazelle’, ʾaburun or āburun, plural of bīrun. The same process takes place where secondary ʾu < wu (§36 b): ʾanūqun < anwūqun or ānūqun, plural of nāqatun ‘she-camel’.

Note 3. The plural of raʾyun is ārāʾun (< *arāʾun).

Note 4. The merger of roots I- and II- in the plural morpheme pattern *ʾafʾālun* occasionally produces new formations: *ʾadabun* ‘custom’, a back-formation from *ʾādābun*, plural of *daʿbun* ‘habit’.

c) If the particle *ʾa* (§335 a) precedes a word beginning with *ʾ*, both *ʾ*s are retained: *ʾa-ʾadkhulu* ‘shall I come in?’ The initial glottal stop and vowel of the article (*ʾa*)*l*- (§142 b) are not elided after *ʾa*: *ʾa-ʾal-ʾabdu* ‘the slave?’. Other words beginning with double consonants (§21) use the contextual form after *ʾa*: *ʾa-ʾshatakā* ‘did he complain?’.

Dropping of ʾ (hamzah)

§42. Some I- verbs lose *ʾ* in the imperative: *kul* ‘eat!’ (root *ʾ-k-l*), likewise *khudh* ‘take!’, *mur* ‘order!’ (§238). As a change that originates in **ʾarā* > *ʾarā*, the imperfect forms of *raʾā* ‘he saw’ and verb stem IV of this root lose the root *ʾ* in all inflectional categories: *ʾarā*, *tarā*, *yarā*, etc. and *ʾarā*, *ʾarayta*, *ʾurī*, *turī*, *yurā*, etc. (§239 b).

§43. In the formation of nouns from III- roots, there often occur forms based on variants of III-weak roots (§67 a). In non-classical texts, III-weak roots very often replace III- roots, for example: (*ʾi*)*ttakā* (imperfect *yattakī*) instead of (*ʾi*)*ttakaʾa* (imperfect *yattakīu*) ‘lean on’ (root *w-k-ʾ*).

Note 1. *nabīyun* ‘prophet’, which etymologically belongs to the root *n-b-ʾ*, is borrowed from Aramaic *nbīy(ā)*. Forms like *nabīun*, plural *nubaʾū* are hyper-classicisms.

Assimilation

§44. The *l* of the article (*ʾa*)*l*- (§142 b) is assimilated completely to consonants articulated with the forward part of the tongue: *t*, *d*, *th*, *dh*, *r*, *n*, *l*, *s*, *z*, *sh*, *s*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ* (*z*): *ʾal-taqwā* > *ʾat-taqwā* ‘piety’, *ʾal-ṣaydu* > *ʾaṣ-ṣaydu* ‘game’, *ʾal-ḍabyu* > *ʾaḍ-ḍabyu* ‘antelope’. Cf. above, Writing System, §18.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians called these consonants *أَلْحُرُوفُ الشَّمْسِيَّةِ* *al-ḥurūf ash-shamsiyyah* ‘sun letters’ after *أَلشَّمْسُ* (*ʾa*)*sh-shamsu* ‘sun’. The rest of the letters, which are not assimilated to the *l*, are called *أَلْحُرُوفُ الْقَمَرِيَّةِ* *al-ḥurūf al-qamariyyah* ‘moon letters’ after *أَلْقَمَرُ* (*ʾa*)*l-qamar* ‘moon’.

§48. Perfect suffixes beginning in *t* (-*ta*, -*ti*, -*tu*, -*tum*, -*tunna*, -*tumā*) can assimilate to stem-final *d*, *th*, *dh*, *ḍ*, *t*, *ḍ*: *labith-tu* > *labittu* 'I lingered', *ʿarad-ta* > *ʿaratta* 'you desired', *basat-tum* > *basattum* 'you spread out'. The unassimilated forms are always written: لبثت، أردت، بسطتم (§18.2).

Syllable Ellipsis

§49. If two identical or similar consonants follow one another separated only by a sonant, the sound sequence *CVCV* or *CVCV̄* tends to be simplified, as long as no morphological ambiguity results.

a) In the prefix-conjugation, *ta-ta-* tends to be reduced to *ta-* in stems V, VI, and in stem II of quadriliteral verbs: *tataʿallamu* or *taʿallamu* 'you/she learn/s', *tatanāwamu* or *tanāwamu* 'you/she go/es to sleep'.

b) *taṭā-* may be reduced to *tā-* in stem X of II-weak verbs: (ʾi)*staṭāʾa* or (ʾi)*sṭāʾa* 'to be able', (ʾi)*staṭāla* or (ʾi)*sṭāla* 'to become long'.

c) *-na-* preceding the personal pronoun suffixes -*nī*, -*nā* (§268) may be elided: ʾinna-*nī* or innī, ʾinna-*nā* or innā, ʾanna-*nī*/-*nā* or annā, annī, *tadribūna-nī* or *tadribūnī*, *tadribīna-nā* or *tadribīnā*. In the same way, -*nī* in the dual is elided: *tadribānī-nī* or *tadribānī*.

Note 1. The shortening of *-namā* to *-nā* is evident in the pair *bayna-mā* or *baynā* 'while'.

d) After the definite article (ʾa)*l-* in the words ʾilāhun 'god', ʾulāʾi 'these', and ʾunāsun 'people', ʾ is dropped and the following vowel is also elided: ʾal-ʾilāhu 'the god' > ʾallāhu 'God', *ʾal-ʾilātu > ʾallātu 'Allāt' (proper name of a goddess), ʾal-ʾulāʾi > ʾallāʾi 'those who', ʾal-ʾunāsu > ʾan-nāsu 'people', from which the indefinite *nāsun* 'people' developed as an independent word.

e) The prepositions ʾalā 'on' and min 'from' can be shortened to ʾa- and mi- when they precede the unassimilated form of the article (ʾa)*l-*: min-a ʾl-baladi or mi-l-baladi 'from the country', ʾalā ʾl-arḍi or ʾal-arḍi 'on the earth'. The shortened forms occur only in poetry or in non-classical texts.

Note 2. The short form (ʾi)stahā (yastahī) alongside (ʾi)stahyā (yastahyī) 'be ashamed' (root ḥ-yy, ḥ-y-y) developed through dissimilation, as the y is dropped in forms like (ʾi)stahyaytu > (ʾi)stahaytu, yastahyī > yastahī.

§50. Geminated root consonants, like those that appear in II-geminate ($C_2 = C_3$) roots and in verbal stems IX, XI, are usually preserved as geminates, even when the morpheme pattern requires another arrangement of the root consonants. In morphemes that call for a CVCV arrangement, the sonant that is expected to fall between both identical consonants is absent if a vowel appears before CVCV: *radda* 'return' = faʿala pattern of root r-dd, *massa* 'touch' = faʿila of root m-ss, *dāllun* 'erring' = fāʿilun of root ḍ-ll. If, however, a consonant precedes, CVCV is re-arranged as VCCV, that is, the sonant that is expected precedes the geminate: ʾaqallu 'fewer' = ʾafalu of root q-ll, muḥibbun 'loving' > muḥilun of root ḥ-bb, yaruddu 'he returns' > yafulu of root r-dd. Only in morpheme patterns faʿalun, fʿalun, fuʿalun, and fuʿulun is the geminate group split up for the sake of morphological precision: *sababun* 'cause', *sikakun* 'coins', *durarun* 'pearls', ʾununun 'reins'.

Note 1. Long vowels always break up geminates: (ʾi)ḥmirārun, verbal-noun of (ʾi)ḥmarra 'reddden', takḥfifun 'lightening' = tafīlun of root ḥh-ff, murūrun 'passing' = fuʿūlun of root m-rr.

Note 2. In morphemes that require the sequence (V)CVC, geminates as a rule cannot be preserved: *radadtu* 'I returned' = faʿaltu of root r-dd, (ʾi)ḥmarartu 'I reddened' (ʾi)ḥmarra (Cf., however, §52.2). If (V)CVC appears at the end of a word, the geminate can be preserved with an auxiliary vowel: *yardud* or *yaruddi*, *yarudda*, *yaruddu* 'may he return' (§53).

Syllable Structure

§51. The old Arabic syllable consists of three elements: an explosive, a vocalic nucleus, and an implosive element. In the explosive element, there is always a consonantal phoneme, or in certain cases, a long, or doubled, consonant. Every syllable contains a nucleus that is always represented by a sonant (a, i, u). The implosive element is realized by a consonant or is not

articulated. Consonantal clusters cannot appear in any syllable element. A syllable cannot begin with a sonant. Accordingly, there are only two types of syllables:

a) open syllable: *CV*

b) closed syllable: *CVC* and *C \bar{V}*

Note 1. After closed vocalic syllables, doubled consonants can be realized as long consonants in explosive syllable elements: *ḍā|llun*, (*ʾi*)*h|mā|rra*, *dā|bba|tun*, *du|way|bba|tun*. In poetry, where long consonants interfere with the rhythm, doubled consonants are reduced: *ḍā|llun* > *ḍā|lun*.

Note 2. After sonants, doubled consonants behave like geminates. The first part is classified as the implosive, and the second part as the explosive element of the syllable: *naz|za|la*, *qaw|wā|mun*.

Shortening of Syllables

§52. If a syllable-closing consonant comes in contact with a closed vocalic syllable, the syllable as a rule is shortened through elision of the consonantal vowel element: *CāC* > *CaC*, *CīC* > *CiC*, *CūC* > *CuC*, *CayC* > *CaC*: **ʾaqām-tu* > *ʾaqamtu*, **sīr-na* > *sirna*, **qūl* > *qul*, **lays-tu* > *lastu*. Shortening also occurs when the indefinite ending *-n* (§141) is affixed to stems ending in *-ī*, *-ā*: **talaqqī-n* > *talaqqin*, **qādī-n* > *qādīn*, **fatā-n* > *fatān*, **mulqā-n* > *mulqan*.

Note 1. A similar kind of shortening takes place in **ʾayn* > *ʾin* 'not' (§322).

Note 2. *CVCC* > *CVC* also occasionally affects non-vocalic consonants: **mundhu* > *mundh* > *mudh* 'since' (§300), **qaṭṭ* > *qaṭ* in *fa-qaṭ* 'only'. Such shortening does occur rarely in the classical language in the perfect of II-geminate verbs: **ḍall-tu* > *ḍaltu* or *ḍiltu*, **aḥass-tu* > *aḥastu*.

Auxiliary Vowels

§53. If *CVCC* cannot be shortened, the syllable structure after *CC* conditions a sonant as an auxiliary vowel. This vowel can, however, occur only at the end of a word: *mass* > *massi*, *massa* 'touch!', *firr* > *firri*, *firra* 'flee!',

yarudd > *yaruddi/a/u* 'may he return'. The auxiliary vowel is usually *i*, infrequently *a*. It can also be *u* if the preceding syllable contains *u*.

Note 1. If there is a doubled consonant at the end of a word, either an auxiliary vowel appears or the geminate is broken up: **yarudd* > *yaruddi*, *yarudda*, or *yardud* (§50.2).

Note 2. Under certain circumstances, an auxiliary vowel can also appear after a closed vocalic syllable, if shortening needs to be avoided: **fa'āl* > *fa'āli* (§225.1), **-ūn*, **-īn*, **-ān*, **-ayn* > *-ūna*, *-īna*, *-āni*, *-ayni* (plural and dual endings), **hayhāt* > *hayhāti*, *hayhāta*, *hayhātu* 'not!', 'how wrong!'.¹

Note 3. Lengthened auxiliary vowels also appear at the end of interjections:
 *ʾuff ‘ugh, phooey’ > ʾuffi, ʾuffa, ʾuffu or ʾuffī, ʾuffā, written أفا or أفاً
 (incorrectly with *tanwīn*; cf. also §7.4).

§54. a) Within a phrase, an auxiliary vowel must appear before a word beginning in *CC*, when the preceding word ends in *C*; cf. §§19 ff. The auxiliary is usually *i*. After *hum*, *tum*, *kum* and the plural ending *-aw*, it is *u*. After *-ī*, *-nī* (1st person singular suffix), it is *a*. It is also *a* after the preposition *min*, but only when the article follows (§21 b): *qad-i 'nšarafa* 'he has departed', *'iftah-i 'l-bāba* 'open the door!', *'antum-u 'r-rijālu* 'you are the men', *da'aw-u 'n-nisā'a* 'they called the women', *darabaniy-a 'l-waladu* 'the boy hit me', *min-a 'l-bayti* 'from the house', but *min-i 'mra'atihī* 'from his wife'.

Note 1. After 'aw 'or', the auxiliary vowel is *i*: 'imru^{un} 'aw-i 'mra^{atun} 'man or woman'.

Note 2. Long vowels are shortened before *CC*, since extra-long syllables are not permitted: *laqū* 'l-*adūwa* > *laqu* 'l-*adūwa* 'they met the enemy', 'abū 'l-*Abbāsi* > 'abu 'l-*Abbāsi* 'the father of al-'Abbās. The orthography does not indicate the shortening. The forms are written morphemically (أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ، لَقُوا الْعَدُوَّ).

Note 3. An auxiliary vowel appears before the article (‘a)*l*-, even when another auxiliary vowel comes after the article: *min-a ’l-i-ħtiġġi* ‘from the argumentation’.

b) If words beginning in *CC* occur at the beginning of a phrase, ʾ must precede the auxiliary vowel. The quality of auxiliary vowel is determined by the vowel of the following syllable. It is *i* before *i* and *a*, and *u* before *u* in the following syllable: (ʾ*i*)*staʾmala* 'he used', (ʾ*i*)*ḍrib* 'hit!', (ʾ*i*)*ftaḥ* 'open!', (ʾ*u*)*stuʾmila* 'it was used', (ʾ*u*)*ktub* 'write!'. The words listed in §21a always have *i*. The article is always pronounced ʾ*al-* at the beginning of a phrase.

Note 1. The auxiliary vowel at the beginning of a word is transliterated vowel plus ʾ between (): (ʾ*a*)*l-*.

Pausal Forms

§55. Before a pause in speech, it is normal to decrease the sound of the final word. Pausal forms develop as the voice and articulation subside, and the final sound segment or two fade into silence. Sonants are completely silent in pause. Long vowels sound short, and sometimes the reduced expiratory effort produces an *h*-like sound: *-ā* → (i.e., sounds in pause like) *-ah*, *-ī* → *-ih*. The noun endings *-un*, *in*, *-an* (§§11 f.) lose final *-n* or are completely deleted. Geminates are reduced: *fīrr* (§53) → *fir*.

§56. In poetry, rhyming words have the following pausal forms:

a) Words with final rhyming consonants are written with *sukūn* (§6). As such, there may occur words whose contextual forms end in a consonant anyway: لَمْ يَغْلَمْ *lam yaʾlam* 'he did not know'. Similarly, doubled consonants at the end of words are simplified: *fīrr* (§53) → فِر *fir*. There can also be pausal forms with rhyming consonants whose contextual forms end in sonants (*a, i, u*) or the morphemes *-un*, *-in*, *-un*: *yaʾlamu* 'he knows' → يَغْلَمْ *yaʾlam*, *muṭʾamun* 'fed' → مُطْعَم *muṭʾam*. Sometimes words whose stems end in *-ī* also have pausal forms ending in consonants: *yurāʾī* 'he observes' → يَرَاغ *yurāʾ*. Pausal forms of the feminine ending *-ah* (§57 e) can occur rhyming with *-ah*. The third-person singular suffixes *-hu*, *-hī* (*-hū*, *hī*) are read *-h* in pause.

Note 1. Pausal forms in which the accusative ending *-an* is completely dropped occur rarely as rhyming forms.

Note 2. أَلْعَاضُ (ʾa)l-ʿĀṣ (a proper name) is a pausal form whose stem-final -ī has been dropped. Its contextual form is (ʾa)l-ʿāṣī 'disobedient'.

b) In words with final rhyming vowels, all vowels that rhyme are considered long. The length of ā is normally indicated in writing by ِ, regardless of the underlying contextual form. *ḍammah* (§5) indicates ū, and و or ِ (§7.2) is written only for morphemic ū. When the rhyme is ī, either *kasrah* (§5) or ِ can be written. Under most circumstances, when ِ is used, it is only when it is morphologically justified.

c) In words with final rhyming vowels, the following pausal forms are possible: 1. Words whose contextual forms end in long vowels show no pausal variation. 2. Sonants in words whose contextual forms end in sonants are counted as long vowels and thus are not dropped. 3. Noun endings -un, -in, -an drop final -n and are likewise considered long vowels. -n is also dropped from both ā and ī noun stems (§154 ff.), and the rhyming forms end in -ā and -ī, respectively. 4. Words whose contextual forms end in consonants can take an auxiliary vowel i to fit ī rhyme. Thus, for words in which final vowels rhyme, the following pausal forms are possible:

- ā-rhyme: 1. لَنْ يَغْلَمَا lan yaʿlamā, contextual لَنْ يَغْلَمَا
 2. لَنْ يَغْلَمَا lan yaʿlamā, contextual لَنْ يَغْلَمِ
 3. مُطْعَمَا muṭʿamā, contextual مُطْعَمِ
 عَصَا ʿaṣā, contextual عَصَا
- ī-rhyme: 1. لَنْ تَغْلِمِي lan taʿlamī, contextual لَنْ تَغْلِمِي
 2. مِنْ أَلَدَم min-a 'd-damī, contextual مِنْ أَلَدَم
 3. مِنْ دَم min damī, contextual مِنْ دَم
 عَمِي or عَمِي ʿamī, contextual عَمِي
 4. لَمْ يَغْلَمْ lam yaʿlamī, contextual لَمْ يَغْلَمْ
- ū-rhyme: 1. لَنْ يَغْلَمُوا lan yaʿlamū, contextual لَنْ يَغْلَمُوا
 2. يَغْلَمْ yaʿlamū, contextual يَغْلَمْ
 3. مُطْعَمُ muṭʿamū, contextual مُطْعَمُ

§57. There is also a system of pausal forms observed in the reading of classical Arabic prose texts. The following reductions in word-final position are occasioned by pause:

a) Sonants are dropped: *kataba* → in pause *katab*, *qāma* → *qām*, *yarmi* → *yarm* (or *yarmiḥ*), (ʾa)*l-kitābu* → (ʾa)*l-kitab*.

b) Noun endings *-un*, *-in* are dropped: *kitābun*, *kitābin* → *kitāb*; *maqālātun*, *maqālātin* → *maqālāt* (feminine plural).

c) *-ī* replaces *-in* in *ī*-stems (§155): *qāḍin* → *qāḍī*, *tarāmin* → *tarāmī*.

d) *-ā* replaces final *-an*: *kitāban* (accusative) → *kitābā*, *ʿaṣan* → *ʿaṣā*, *hudan* → *hudā*, *yanfaʿan* (energetic II) → *yanfaʿā*.

e) *-ah* or *āh* replaces the feminine singular endings *-atu(n)*, *-ati(n)*, *-ata(n)* and *-ātu(n)*, *-āti(n)*, *-āta(n)* (cf. §13): *madīnatun*, *madīnatin*, *madīnatan* → *madīnah*; *ṣalātun*, *ṣalātin*, *ṣalātan* → *ṣalāh*.

In prose, orthography is unaffected by the pausal reading. Every word in pause is vocalized as in context, to the extent that vowel signs and other diacritics are used.

Note 1. When words not in context are cited in transliteration, it is usual to write the pausal form: *Muḥammad*, *madīna(h)*, *kitāb*, *katab*, *sukūn* (§6), *shadda(h)* (§17), *tā marbūṭa(h)* (§13), etc. This manner of citation is used frequently in titles of books, for example: *Kitāb al-faraj baʿd aṣh-shidda(h)* rather than *Kitābu l-faraj baʿda ʿsh-shiddati*.

Note 2. In transliteration of genitive constructions in “pausal transcription”, the first member is also introduced without case ending, for example with personal names: *ʿabd allāh* (ʿ *Abdallāh*), *imraʾ al-qays* (*Imraʾ alqays*); but *Abū Bakr*, *Abū l-Qāsim* because of the long vowel (§150). The feminine ending appears as the first member of genitive constructions in the form *-at*: *Hibat Allāh* (proper name), *sīrat rasūl Allāh* (title of a book).

Morphology

Root and Morpheme

§58. In addition to prefixed, infixed, and suffixed morphemes, Arabic, like the other Semitic languages, has stem pattern morphemes that determine the distribution of vowels in a word-stem. Roots, as a rule, consist only of consonants, called radicals. Vowels are usually morphologically determined. Most roots consist of three radicals, while a smaller number have four radicals. Roots with more than four radicals occur only infrequently in purely Semitic words. In pronouns, a few particles, and primary nouns (§71 f.), vowels are not morphologically determined, but are components of the root.

Separable pattern and inflectional morphemes combine with stem pattern morphemes to make up morphological units, or words. A morphologically determined word-form, or "morpheme-category", is represented paradigmatically, according to the model developed by Arab grammarians, by the root **فعل** *f-ʿ-l* ('do'): **ف** is the first, **ع** the second, and **ل** the third, root consonant, or radical. Four-radical roots are represented by **فعلل** *f-ʿ-l₃-l₄*. Thus, a word like **فضيلة** *faḍīlatun* 'virtue' belongs to the morpheme-category *faḍīlatun*. It consists of the stem pattern morpheme *faḍīl*, which determines the vowel distribution for the root *f-d-l*, and the feminine ending *-at-* with the nominative ending *-u* and sign of indefiniteness *-n*. **يضمحل** *yadmaḥillu* 'he fades away' is of the morpheme-category *yafal₃il₄l₄u* of the root *d-m-h-l*. The morpheme-category here consists of the imperfect prefix *ya-*, the imperfect base *-fal₃il₄l₄*, and the ending *-u*.

§59. Among three-radical roots are those that have consonantal vowels (*w*, *y*) or *ʾ*. They are called "weak" roots, because *y* and *w*, and occasionally *ʾ*, are replaced by vowels or completely disappear. All other roots with stable radicals are called "strong" roots. Thus, there are the following different types of roots:

a) Strong roots with three or four different radicals

b) II-geminate roots (*mediae geminatae*): The second and third radicals are identical and form a geminate group. (§§50; 54)

c) I-^ʔ roots (*primae hamzatae*): The phonological rules in §§40–43 apply to these. Other roots with ^ʔ as the second or third radical are, with a few exceptions, treated as “strong”.

d) I-*w* and -*y* roots (*primae infirmae*): Some I-*w* root morphemes are formed as two-radical morphemes without the first radical (§240). The phonological rules in §33 apply to the rest of these roots.

e) II-*w* and -*y* roots (*mediae infirmae*): In most morphemes, long vowels replace the middle radical.

f) III-*w* and -*y* roots (*tertia infirmae*): In most morphemes, long vowels replace the third radical. III-*w* and III-*y* are distinguished only in the basic stem of the verb and in some derived nouns.

Note 1. Within Semitic roots, consonants that are alike or share points of articulation are largely incompatible. Roots with identical first and second radicals do not occur. Roots with like first and third radicals rarely occur and, when they do, usually derive from reduplicated roots: *q-l-q* < *q-l-q-l*, *s-l-s* < *s-l-s-l*.

Note 2. There are II-weak roots in which *w* or *y* are treated as “strong” radicals (cf. §245.3).

Note 3. The last radical in four-radical roots can be “weak”: IV-weak roots (cf. §251.3).

§60. Stems of “weak” roots containing long vowels are classified in the system of three-radical stem pattern morphemes according to the following rules:

a) Stems of the pattern *CāC*, *CīC*, *CūC* of II-weak roots correspond to one-syllable stem morphemes *faʕl*, *fiʕl*, *fuʕl* or *faʕal*, *fiʕil*, *fuʕul*, e.g., in the imperfect (§216) and morpheme patterns with *ma-* prefix (§78 a). *CāC* also figures in two-syllable morphemes with short vowels, *faʕal*, *faʕil*, *faʕul*. In all other morphemes, *w* and *y* are treated as consonants.

Note 1. With *fiʕl*, *fuʕl* of II-weak roots, the phonological rule in §33 is observed.

Note 2. With *fa'l*, *aw* or *ay* usually replaces long vowel *ā* when *w* and *y* belong to the root.

b) Stems of III-weak roots occur with final *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*. *-ū* occurs only in the basic stem of verbs (§250). Noun stems have only *-ā*- and *-ī*- in final position: *-ā* represents a morpheme with *a* in the final syllable of the stem (*fa'al*, *fa'al*, *fi'al*, etc.), and *-ī* represents a morpheme with *i* or *u* in the final syllable of the stem (*fi'il*, *fu'il*, *fa'il*, etc.).

Note 3. Stem final *-ā* sometimes represents the third radical in *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l*. Thus, these morphemes appear to be *fa'al*, *fi'al*, *fu'al* (§257 a).

Nominal Forms

§61. Preliminary remarks: Nominal forms are 1. substantives, 2. adjectives, and 3. quantitative expressions that cannot be classified as substantives or adjectives, such as elative forms and numerals, among others. Most morpheme categories can be substantival and adjectival. Only a few are reserved primarily for adjectives. Nominal inflectional endings (§§140 ff.) attach to the stem, whose form is determined by stem pattern morphemes. Additionally, suffixed and prefixed pattern morphemes may be appended to the stem.

Stem Pattern Morphemes

§62. Three-radical nominal stem pattern morphemes:

a) One-syllable morphemes:

fa'l, *fi'l*, *fu'l*

b) Two-syllable morphemes with short vowels:

fa'al, *fa'il*, *fa'ul*, *fi'al*, *fu'al*, *fu'ul*

c) Two-syllable morphemes with long vowels:

fa'āl, *fi'āl*, *fu'āl*, *fa'īl*, *fa'ūl*, *fu'ūl*, *fa'ayl*

d) Morphemes with long vowels in the first syllable:

fā'al, *fā'il*, *fā'ul*, *fay'al*, *faw'al*, *fay'āl*, *fay'ūl*

e) Morphemes with geminated second radical:

faʿʿil, fuʿʿal, fiʿʿil, fiʿʿal, faʿʿāl, fiʿʿāl, fuʿʿāl, fiʿʿīl, faʿʿūl, fuʿʿūl, fuʿʿayl, fiʿʿawl

f) Morphemes with geminated third radical:

fiʿall, fiʿill, fuʿull, faʿāl

g) Morphemes with reduplication:

fiʿlil, fuʿlal, fuʿlul, fiʿlāl, fiʿlīl, fuʿlāl, fuʿlūl, faʿalal, fuʿulul

h) Morphemes with infixed *n*:

faʿanlā

Note 1. The substantive forms *fuʿl-un* and *fuʿul-un* are variants of the same morpheme (cf. §88). *fiʿil-un* is an occasional variant of *fiʿl-un*.

Note 2. The substantive form *faʿil-un* frequently alternates with *fiʿl-un* (§77).

Note 3. *fuʿayl-un* is a diminutive morpheme (§81).

Note 4. *fāʿil-un* is the active participle of the basic verbal stem (§223) and is used to form the ordinal numbers (§133).

Note 5. *fāʿal* and *fāʿūl* are Aramaic in origin. *fāʿūl*, however, is also formed secondarily from Arabic roots.

Note 6. The morphemes listed above in e–g are termed “expanded” morphemes.

Note 7. *faʿanlā* is a verbal adjective of the XV verbal stem (§173).

§63. Four-radical nominal stem pattern morphemes:

<i>faʿlal</i>	<i>fiʿlil</i>	<i>fuʿlul</i>	<i>fiʿlal</i>	<i>fuʿlal</i>
<i>faʿlāl</i>	<i>fiʿlīl</i>	<i>fuʿlūl</i>	<i>fiʿlāl</i>	<i>fuʿlāl</i>
	<i>fiʿlill</i>	<i>fuʿlull</i>	<i>fiʿlall</i>	
<i>faʿl₃al₄īl₄</i>				
<i>fiʿal₃l₄</i>	<i>fuʿal₃l₄</i>	<i>fuʿal₃l₄īl₄</i>		

<i>fuʿal₃l₄</i>	<i>fuʿal₃l₄</i>			
<i>fuʿalil</i>	<i>fuʿālil</i>	<i>fuʿaylil</i>	<i>faʿālil</i>	<i>faʿālīl</i>
<i>faʿallal</i>	<i>faʿanlal</i>	<i>faʿaylal</i>		

Note 1. Most four-radical stem morphemes have forms that correspond to the expanded three-radical morphemes (§62 e-g). In addition to these, the following correspondences between four-radical and three-radical morphemes exist: *fuʿlal* = *fuʿal*; *faʿlāl* = *faʿāl*, *faʿāl*; *fuʿlāl* = *fuʿāl*, *fuʿāl*; *fuʿālil* = *fuʿāl*; *fuʿaylil* = *fuʿayl*.

Note 2. *fuʿlal* has a later variant *fuʿlul*: جندب *jundabun*, *jundubun* 'locust'; also three-radical *fuʿlal*: سودد *sūdādun*, *sūdudun*, also with classifying 'سؤدد *swdadun* 'leadership' (root *s-w-d*).

Note 3. *faʿālil* and *faʿālīl* are plural morphemes (§93 ff.).

Note 4. *faʿanlal*, corresponding to *faʿanlā* (§62.7), is a verbal adjective of the four-radical verbal stem III (§176).

Note 5. Among four-radical roots, there are very many that are derived from three-radical roots with lexicalized pattern morphemes. For example, pattern categories like *faʿwal*, *fuʿwal*, *fuʿyal*, and forms with prefixed *ha-*, 'a- or suffixed -*n*, -*an*, -*am*, -*im*, -*um*, and others belong to this class.

Suffixed Pattern Morphemes

§64. The feminine endings -*at*, -*ā* can be added to stem pattern morphemes. These endings are so named because in substantives they often mark the naturally feminine (§110.1), and in adjectives, the grammatically feminine (§113). The suffix -*ā* has an inflected variant -*āu*.

a) -*at-un* (§13) designates the "specific", as opposed to the generic, i.e., it is used to form the naturally feminine, nominal forms that express the doing of an action once (*nomina vicis*), terms for things and individual units (*nomen unitatis*) of collectives (§84 a) and adjectives (§73), abstract and verbal substantives (§§73; 75), and abstract collectives (§89).

Note 1. A vestige of an old feminine ending -*t* is preserved in بنت *bin-t-un* 'daughter', أخت *ukh-t-un* 'sister' (§72), كذا *kil-t-ā* 'both' (§109), ثنتان *thin-t-āni* 'two' (§129).

b) $-\bar{a}$ (ی §10.3) is used for secondary feminine forms of adjectives (§§119; 122; 127), abstract and verbal substantives (§75 b), and, rarely, occurs to indicate things.

Note 2. Tradition varies occasionally between the use of $-\bar{a}$ and $-an$ to designate terms for things (III-weak nouns §69 a): معزی $mī'zā$, $mī'zan$ 'goats' (§12).

Note 3. Occasionally, $-\bar{a}$ combines with $-(a)t-$ to form $-\bar{a}t-un$: سعلی $sī'lā$ or سعلاة $sī'lātun$ 'female demon'.

c) $-\bar{a}u$ (with diptotic inflection §152) forms the secondary adjectival feminine $fā'lā'u$ (§119) and appears in terms for things, verbal substantives (§75 b), and plural morphemes (§§90; 100).

Note 4. $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{a}u$, $-\bar{a}tun$ sometimes occur as variants: سلحفی $sulahfā$, سلحفاء $sulahfā'u$, سلحفاة $sulahfātun$ 'turtle'.

Note 5. The morpheme category $fā'lā'un$ is masculine and inflects as a triptote (§§147 ff.): حرباء $hīrbā'un$ 'chameleon'.

Note 6. In Aramaic loanwords, $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{a}u$ occasionally represents the original $-\bar{a}$ of the emphatic state: الثلاثاء (ʾa) $th-thalāthā'u$ 'Tuesday'.

§65. Additional suffixed pattern morphemes are $-\bar{a}n$, $-iy(y)$, and $-ūt$.

a) $-\bar{a}n$ forms adjectives (§119), verbal substantives: $fā'alānun$ (§229), $fā'lānun$, $fū'lānun$ (§74), and plural morphemes (§92). Rarely, $-\bar{a}n$ is also a suffix on other stem morphemes.

Note 1. The original individualizing function of $-\bar{a}n$ is noticeably present in إنسان $insānun$ 'person', which belongs to إنس $insun$ 'humankind'. It also figures in the origin of many personal names, such as شيبان $shaybānu$ ('white-haired') from شيب $shaybun$ 'white hair'.

b) $-iy(y)$, called the *nisbah*, or relative ending, expresses the concept of "belonging". It forms adjectives (§§116 ff.) and, mostly in combination with the feminine endings: $-iy-atun$, $iyy-atun$, $-iy-\bar{a}u$, forms abstract substantives (§76).

Note 2. *-iyy* without the feminine ending occurs only rarely as a substantive: سخری سخری *sukhriyyun* and سخریة سخریة *sukhriyyatun* 'ridicule'. Apparently, *-iy* figures in the origin of patterns like غرق غرق *ghirqi'un* 'interior membrane of an egg, egg white' with classicizing *hamzah*.

c) *-ūt* is found in loanwords from Aramaic: ملکوت ملکوت *malakūtun* 'kingdom' and infrequently in adjectives: تریب تریب *tarabūtun* 'navigable'. In Arabic, these words are masculine.

Prefixed Pattern Morphemes

§66. a) *ta-* /*ti-* /*tu-* form verbal substantives (§231) and infrequently verbal adjectives: تنیل تنیل *tinbalun*, تنبال تنبال *tinbālun* 'small of stature, dwarf', تلعب تلعب *tikābun*, تلعب تلعب *tili'ābun* 'joker'.

b) *ma-* /*mi-* /*mu-*: *ma-* forms nouns of place (*nomina loci*) (§78), verbal substantives (§230), and passive participles of the basic stem *maf'ūlun* (§223). *mi-* forms nouns that indicate instrument (*nomina instrumenti*) (§79) and adjectives (§121). *mu-* forms participles (§224) and verbal substantives (§230), and is an occasional variant of *ma-* or *mi-* (§80).

c) *ʾa-* /*ʾi-* /*ʾu-* form the elative *ʾaf'alu* (§124) and its derivative adjectives (§119). These prefixes also figure in morpheme categories like *ʾif'ūlun*, *ʾuf'ūlun*, *ʾif'illun*, *ʾuf'illun*, *ʾuf'ullun*, *ʾuf'ūlun*, which are derived from elatives or represent phonetic variants of morpheme categories *f'ūlun*, *f'ullun*.

d) *ya-* occurs in morpheme categories *yaf'alu*, *yaf'ulun*, *yaf'ūlun*, *yaf'ūlun*, which figure almost exclusively in animal, plant, and personal names.

Note 1. Morpheme categories formed with prefixes are mostly deverbal, less often denominal, e.g.: *maf'ūlun* < **ma-fa'ūl-un*, *mif'ūlun* < **ma-fi'ūl-un*. All prefix patterns have in common the loss of the vowel in the open syllable (§51) following the prefix.

"Weak" Root Stem Patterns

§67. a) III-ʾ roots are often treated like III-weak roots. Variants with *w* and *y*, instead of *ʾ*, occur especially after *u*, *i*, *ū*, *ī*: خایة خایة *khābiyatun* or خابة خابة *khābīyatun* 'jug', مروة مروة *murūwatun* or مروة مروة *murūbatun* 'manliness', هدو هدو

hudūwun or هدوء *hudūrun* 'rest'. In order to avoid the sequence ' - ' (§41), plural morpheme *fa'āilu* (§98) is not formed from III-ʾ roots; rather, *fa'ālā* (§99) with *y* as the third radical appears: خطيئة *khaṭi'atun* 'sin', plural خطايا *khaṭāyā*.

b) With II-geminate roots, phonological rules for the treatment of geminates (§50) in nominal patterns apply only for morpheme categories with prefixes. All other morphemes are formed according to the standard three-radical pattern: سرير *sarīrun* 'bed', plural أسرة *'asirratun* = *'afīlatun* (§100), but سرر *sururun*; أَسَكْ *'asakku* 'deaf' = *'afalu* (§119). Cf. §236.

Note 1. In poetry there are also morpheme categories formed on the standard pattern: أحرر *aḥṛaru* instead of أحرّ *aḥarru* 'very hot' (relative §§124ff.).

§68. a) In morphemes *fa'l*, *fīl*, *fu'l* and in *ma-fal*, *ma-fil*, II-weak roots have stems with long vowels: سوق *sūqun* 'market' = *fu'lun*, ميتة *mītatun* (< **miwtatun*) 'manner of death' = *fīlatun*, خال *khālun* 'maternal uncle' = *fa'lun*. The stem vowel *ā* also appears in morphemes *fa'al*, *fa'il*, *fa'ul*: طاعة *ṭā'atun* 'obedience' = *fa'alatun*, طاع *ṭā'un* 'obedient' = *fa'ilun*.

Note 1. Patterns with consonantal *w* or *y* can occur in all the above-mentioned morphemes: عوج *'awajun* 'crookedness', معيبة *mayabatun* 'object of rebuke'. This pattern holds especially for *fa'l*, which, as a verbal substantive, is always formed with *w* or *y* as root letter; cf. §248.

Note 2. Adjectives of the category *CāC* = *fa'ilun* sometimes also have a III-weak *fā'ilun* variant: شاك *shākun* or شاك *shākin* (§256 a) 'thorny'.

b) All other morphemes are formed with consonantal *w* or *y*: هيام *huyāmun* 'passion', طويل *ṭawīlun* 'long', خون *khawūnun* 'disloyal', مقياس *miqyāsun* 'measure'.

Note 3. In *fī'ālun*, *iw* becomes *iy*, when the verbal substantive of the basic stem or the plural morpheme (§88) is involved (§33 a). The sequence *wu* (*wū*) can be replaced by *'u* (*'ū*) (§36 b): خؤون *kha'ūnun*.

Note 4. There is no *fa'īl* form of II-*y* roots.

c) Several morphemes with geminated second radical *yy* or *ww* originate in a non-classical variant of the active participle *fā'ilun* with *y* instead of *ʾ* (§247): قَوْم *quwwamun* or قِيم *quyyamun*, قَوَام *quwwāmun* or قِيَام *quyyāmun* (§90), plural of قَائِم *qā'imun* (non-classical قَائِم *qāyim*) 'standing'; قَيَّوم *qayyūmun* 'permanent' (§36.2). The adjective category *CayyiC*, formed only from II-weak roots, always has *yy*: مَيِّت *mayyitun* 'dead' (root *m-w-t*), يَيِّن *bayyinun* 'clear' (root *b-y-n*).

Note 5. *CayyiC* is on rare occasion shortened to *CaYC*: مَيِّت *maytun* 'dead'.

Note 6. The verbal substantive *fā'lūlatun* (§248.1), formed only from II-weak roots, also always has *y*.

§69. a) In III-weak roots, the third radical of one-syllable morphemes is regularly consonantal. In morphemes with *a* before the final radical, the stem ends in *-ā*. In morphemes with *i*, *u* before the final radical, the stem ends in *-ī* (*-uy > ī* §33 b): عَمِي *umyun*, عَمِيَان *umyānun* 'blind' (§119), عَمَى *'aman* 'blindness' (stem *'amā = fa'alun*), عَم *'amin* 'blind' (stem *'amī = fa'ilun*). On the inflection of *ā* and *ī* stems, see §§154 ff.

Note 1. In morphemes *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l*, the last radical can also be represented by stem final *-ā*: وَنِي *wanan* = وَنِي *wanyun*, verbal substantive of وَنَى *wanā* (يَنِي *yanī*) 'weaken'. Cf. §257 a.

b) In morphemes with *-ā* in the final syllable of the stem, *ʾ* appears between the final sound of the stem and the inflectional ending: مِقْرَاء *miqrā-un* 'hospitable' (§121). Cf. §257 b. Before the feminine ending *-atun*, *w* or *y* of the root appears: سَمَاء *samāwatun* 'tent, celestial canopy', as opposed to سَمَا *samārun* 'heaven'.

Note 2. If the form derives directly from the masculine, *ʾ* is preserved before the feminine ending: بَكَاء *bakkārun*, feminine بَكَاء *bakkāratun* 'crying'.

c) In morphemes with *ī*, *ū*, *ay* in the final syllable of the stem, *w* and *y* are treated as consonants. Thus, the phonological rules in §§33 and 34 are observed: خَفِي *khafiyun* 'hidden', أَبِي *rubayyun* diminutive of 'father' (root *ʾ-b-w*). Cf. on this §§256 b and 257.1.

Note 3. Sometimes, in III-weak roots compensatory forms with the feminine ending *-atun* occur instead of morphemes with long vowels in the final syllable of the stem: رَمَاة *rumātun* 'throwing' (§90) = *fuwalatun* instead of *fu(ʿ)ālun*, تَرْبِيَّة *tarbiyatun* 'education' (§257.2) = *tafilatun* instead of *tafiḥilun*.

§70. a) Two-radical substantives of the pattern *CaC-atun*, *CiC-atun*, *CuC-atun* are classified as either I-*w* roots or III-weak roots. To I-*w* roots belong, for example, جِهَة *jihatun* 'direction' (root *w-j-h*), لَدَة *lidatun* 'contemporary' (root *w-l-d*). See §240 c. *CuC-atun* does not exist for I-*w* roots. To III-weak roots belong, e.g.: أَمَة *ʾamatun* 'female slave' (root *ʾ-m-w*), لَثَة *lithatun* 'gums' (root *l-th-y*), لُغَة *luḡhatun* 'language' (root *l-ḡh-w*). Stem pattern derivations are based on the three-radical root: أُمَيَّة *ʾumayyatun* = *fuwaylatun*, diminutive of *ʾamatun*.

b) Several two-radical substantives also have root variants with III-*h*: سَنَة *sanatun* 'year', diminutive سَنِيَّة *sunayyatun* (root *s-n-w*), سَنَاء *sanhāru* 'year of misfortune' (root *s-n-h*), شَفَة *shafatun* 'lip', *nisbah* adjective شَفَوِي *shafawiyyun* (root *sh-f-w*), شَفَاهِي *shafahiyyun* 'labial' (root *sh-f-h*).

Note 2. Substantives in the two-radical category without the feminine ending are rare. As with many two-radical substantives with the feminine ending, they are treated like primary substantives which have assimilated to the three-radical pattern (§72).

Substantive

Primary Substantives

§71. Primary substantives, that is, those substantives that are not derived from verbal roots or other nominal forms, are not associated with any one morpheme category. They are one- and two-radical, as well as three- and more-radical, words. Substantives like رَأْس *raʿsun* 'head', قَمَر *qamarun* 'moon', جَبِين *jabīnun* 'forehead' are formally indistinguishable from derivatives of morpheme categories *faʿlun*, *faʿalun*, *faʿilun*. Yet, they are not regarded as derivatives of the corresponding roots.

Note 1. Loanwords, especially those that entered Arabic in pre- and early Islamic times, have been adapted for the most part to Arabic morpheme categories, so that in form they cannot readily be distinguished from purely Arabic words: قصر *qasrun* 'castle, palace' < Aramaic *qaṣṭrā* < Latin *castra*.

§72. Primary substantives with one or two radicals are classed secondarily with "weak" three-radical roots (§70). In this way, denominative patterns based on the three-radical morpheme category are possible.

a) فو *fū* 'mouth' (only in the construct state §150), root *f-w-h*, e.g., plural أفواه *afwāhun* (§100). In the definite and indefinite states, فم *famun* is used. — شاء *shārun* 'sheep' (collective; noun of individuality, or *nomen unitatis* شاة *shātun*), root *sh-w-h*: plural شياه *shiyāhun* (§33 a). — ماء *mārun* 'water', root *m-w-h*: plural مياه *miyāhun* (§33 a).

b) أب *abun* 'father', أخ *akhun* 'brother', حم *hamun* 'father-in-law', construct state أبو *abū*, أخو *akhū*, حمو *hamū* (§150), roots *ʾ-b-w*, *ʾ-kh-w*, *h-m-w*: plural آباء *ābārun*, إخوة *ikhwatun* (§89b), أحماء *aḥmārun* (§100).

Note 1. The feminine of *ʾakhun* is أخت *ukhtun* (§64.1) 'sister', plural أخوات *akhawātun*. The feminine of *hamun* is حمة *hamātun* 'mother-in-law'.

Note 2. Three-radical أم *ummun* 'mother' has an extended root in the plural: أمهات *ummahātun*, in addition to أمات *ummātun*.

c) اسم *(i)smun* 'name', ابن *(i)bnun* 'son', إستم *(i)stun* 'buttocks' (§21), roots *s-m-y*, *b-n-w*, *s-t-h*: plural أسماء *asmārun*, أبناء *abnārun*, أستاذ *astāhun* (§100).

Note 3. Older stem forms are preserved in سم *simun* 'names', بنت *bintun* (§64.1) in addition to ابنة *(i)bnatun* 'daughter', plural بنات *banātun*.

Note 4. حر *hirun*, حرة *hiratun* 'female genitals' is *sui generis*; root *h-r-h* appears in the plural أحرار *aḥrāhun*. Cf. §151.1.

d) دم *damun* 'blood', يد *yadun* 'hand', هن *hanun*, هنة *hanatun* 'thing, something', شفة *shafatun* 'lip', roots *d-m-w*, *y-d-y*, *h-n-h* or *h-n-w*, *sh-f-h* or *sh-f-w*: plural دماء *dimārun*, يدي *yudīyun* (§88), شفاه *shifāhun* or شفوات *shafawātun*, diminutive هنية *hunayhatun*, هنية *hunayyatun*.

Note 5. غد *ghadun* 'next day' is a back-formation from غدا *ghadan* (root *gh-d-w*), which as an accusative (§315 b), means 'tomorrow'.

e) إمرؤ *imruun* 'man' (§151), امرأة *imratun* 'woman', with the article المرء *(a)l-mar'u*, المرأة *(a)l-mar'atu*. These words have no plurals. The suppletive forms رجال *rijālun* 'men' (§88), نساء *nisārun*, نسوة *niswatun*, نساوان *niswānun* 'women' (with no singular) are used instead.

Feminine Substantive Ending -atun

§73. The feminine ending -atun (§64 a) affixed to adjectives transforms them into substantives that designate individuals and things, as well as abstracts (see also §§84; 232)

a) -atun that has transformed an adjective into a substantive indicates 'one who practices an occupation in an exemplary manner': راو *rāwin* 'narrator' : راوية *rāwiyatun* 'narrator (of poems)', علام *allāmun* 'knowing thoroughly' : علامة *allāmatun* 'distinguished scholar'.

Note 1. In its function of signifying the 'specific', -atun is found in intensive adjectives of the morpheme categories *fu'alun*, *fu'ālun* (§121).

Note 2. These forms ending in -atun, as they designate the individual, are treated as masculines.

b) In other cases, -atun forms words that designate things: دباب *dabbā-bun* 'creeping' : دبابة *dabbābatun* 'besieging machine', راب *rābin* 'growing large' : رابية *rābiyatun* 'hill', حسن *hasanun* 'good' : حسنة *hasanatun* 'good deed', مشكل *mushkilun* 'obscure' : مشكلة *mushkilatun* 'difficulty, problem'.

c) Adjectives that have been transformed into substantives with -atun are often abstract in meaning: رذيل *radhīlun* 'low, base' : رذيلة *radhīlatun* 'vice, depravity', لائم *lāimun* 'accuser' : لائمة *lāimatun* 'censure'. Very fre-

quently, *-atun* transforms *nisbah*-adjectives into abstract substantives (§§116 f.): نصرانيّ *naṣrāniyyun* 'Christian': نصرانيّة *naṣrāniyyatun* 'Christianity'; cf. §76.

Note 3. On the formation of abstract substantives ending in *-atun*, see also §75 a; for abstract collectives ending in *-atun*, see §89.

Abstract and Verbal Substantives

§74. The following morpheme categories function as abstract and verbal substantives: *fa'lun*, *fi'lun*, *fu'lun*, *fa'alun*, *fi'alun*, *fa'ālun*, *fi'ālun*, *fu'ālun*, *fa'īlun*, *fa'ūlun*, *fu'ūlun*. In addition, morpheme categories with *-ān* suffix *fi'lānun*, *fu'lānun*, *fa'alānun* serve the same function. Cf. §§225 ff.

Note 1. *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun* occur as phonetic variants of *fa'lun* (§38).

Note 2. *fu'ulun* is a variant of *fu'lun*.

Note 3. Morpheme categories *fu(u)lun*, *fi'ālun*, *fu'ālun*, *fa'īlun*, *fu'ūlun* also function as collective plurals (§88).

§75. a) The feminine ending *-atun* (§73 c), in its function of forming abstracts, is also added to the morphemes listed in §74: *fi'latun*, *fu'latun*, *fa'ālatun*, *fi'ālatun*, *fu'ālatun*, *fa'īlatun*, *fu'ūlatun*, and occasionally *fa'alatun*, *fi'alatun*. These morpheme categories are usually abstracts of words that denote qualities, among other things. As such, they also function as verbal substantives of verbs that refer to qualities (§§228 f.).

Note 1. *fa'latun* is as a rule a *nomen vicis* (§232). Sometimes, however, especially with verbs whose action occurs once, *fa'latun* may also function as a general verbal substantive: رغبة *raghbatun* 'wish' from رغب *raghiba* (يرغب *yarghabu*) 'wish, desire'. The corresponding form *fa'lalatun*, as verbal substantive from four-radical verbs, is always formed with *-atun*.

Note 2. *fa'alatun* is, like *fa'īlatun*, *fa'ūlatun*, a verbal substantive variant of *fa'latun*. Cf. §§38 and 257 a.

Note 3. See §77 concerning *fi'latun*, *fu'latun*, *fi'ālatun*, *fu'ālatun*.

b) The feminine ending *-ā* (§64 b) is used with the following morpheme categories to form abstracts and verbal substantives: *fa'lā*, *fi'lā*,

fu'lā, fa'alā: دعوى *da'wā* 'claim', ذكرى *dhikrā* 'memory', بشرى *bushrā* 'good tidings', جفلى *jafalā* 'everyone without distinction'. The suffix *-āu* occurs with *fu'ālāu, fā'ulāu*: غلواء *ghulawāu* 'excess' ضاروراء *ḍārūrāu* 'necessity'.

Note 4. *-āu* is sometimes a variant of *-ā*: رهباء *rahbāu* = رهبي *rahbā*, *ruhbā* 'dread'.

Note 5. *-ā* forms verbal substantives from expanded morpheme categories, e.g.: فـِـئـِـلـِـآ *fi'il-ā*, فـِـئـِـلـِـآ *fi'ill-ā*, فـِـئـِـلـِـآ *fi'ull-ā*: زلّلى *zillilā* 'slip, lapse', غلبى *ghilibbā*, *ghulubbā* 'conquering'.

Note 6. *fu'alāu* usually functions as a plural morpheme (§90).

§76. Originally derived from the feminine of the *nisbah* adjective (§73 c), *-iyyatun* has become a suffix in its own right for abstract substantives: عـِـرـِـفـِـيـِـيـِـتـِـن *'ajrafiyyatun* = عـِـرـِـفـِـة *'ajrafatun* 'presumption, arrogance', عـِـنـِـجـِـيـِـيـِـتـِـن *'unjuhiyyatun* 'arrogance, pride'. Cf. §65.2. Frequently both *fu'ūliyyatun* and *fu'ūlatun* occur: فـِـرـِـسـِـيـِـيـِـتـِـن *furūsiyyatun* = فـِـرـِـسـِـة *furūsatun* 'horsemanship, knighthood'. The short form *-iy-atun* occurs with *fa'āl*: كـِـرـِـهـِـيـِـتـِـن *karāhiyatun* 'antipathy', عـِـلـِـانـِـيـِـتـِـن *alāniyatun* 'openness'.

Note 1. With the feminine ending *-āu* in the same function is: كـِـبـِـرـِـيـِـيـِـتـِـن *kibriyāu* 'arrogance, pride'.

Semantic Groups

§77. Many morpheme categories can be classified in groups with associated meanings. These semantic groups are identified in part by form and in part by meaning. The most important are:

fi'lun: Objects occurring in pairs like عدل *'idlun* 'either of the two balanced halves of a load carried by a beast of burden', قسم *qismun* 'part', شبه *shibhun* 'counterpart, something like'. Cf. §229.

fa'ilun, fi'lun: Parts of the body like كبد *kabidun, kibdun*, رحم *rahimun, riḥmun* 'womb', فخذ *fakhidhun, fikhidhun, fakhidhun* 'thigh'.

fi'latun: Nouns of kind or manner (*nomina speciei*) like مشية *mishyatun* 'gait', قبله *qiblatun* ('the direction one turns in prayer') 'qiblah'.

fuḥlatun: Abstracts of color and form like *حَضْرَة* *ḥuḍratun* 'greenness', *حَمْرَة* *ḥumratun* 'redness', *شُنْعَة* *shun'atun* 'ugliness'. Cf. §119.

fī'alun: Measure and size like *ثَقْل* *thiqalun* 'heaviness', *كَبَر* *kibarun* 'bigness', *صَغَر* *ṣigharun* 'smallness', *عَظَم* *ʿizamun* 'might'.

fī'ālun: Implements like *حِزَام* *ḥizāmun* 'belt', *حِجَاب* *ḥijābun* 'veil', *عَنَان* *ʿinānun* 'bridle', *وِعاء* *wi'ārun* 'vessel'.

fu'ālun: Maladies like *سَعَال* *swālun* 'cough', *صَدَاع* *ṣudārun* 'headache', *عَطَاس* *uṭāsun* 'sneeze'.

fu'ālatun: Rubbish, leavings like *بَرَايَة* *burāyatun* 'wood shavings', *كُنَاسَة* *kunāsatun* 'sweepings', occasionally *fu'ālun* as a collective (§84): *بَرَاء* *burārun* 'wood shavings'.

fā'ilā'u: Places of refuge like *قَاصِعَاء* *qāṣi'ā'u* 'burrow of a jerboa', *عَانِقَاء* *ʿāniqā'u* 'rabbit warren'.

fa'ālun: Occupational terms like *نَجَّار* *najjārūn* 'carpenter', *مَلَّاح* *mallāḥun* 'sailor'. Occupations in the abstract have the morpheme category *fī'ālatun*: *نِجَارَة* *nijaratun* 'carpentry', *مِلَاحَة* *milāḥatun* 'navigation'.

fu'ālun (*fī'ālun*), *fu'ālun*: Names of animals and plants like *حَمْر* *ḥummarun* 'finch', *حَمَص* *ḥimmaṣun* 'chick pea', *تَفَّاح* *tuffāḥun* 'apple', *رَمَّان* *rummānūn* 'pomegranate'.

fu'ālun, *fu'ālā*: Birds like *غُرَاب* *ghurābun* 'raven', *عُقَاب* *uqābun* 'eagle', *حُبَارَى* *ḥubārā* 'bustard'.

uf'ūlatun: Literary genres like *أَرْجُوزَة* *urjūzatun* 'Rajaz poem', *أَحْدُوثَة* *uḥdūṭhatun* 'story', *أَغْنِيَة* *uḡhnīyatun* 'song' (§33 b).

Nouns of Place (*Nomina Loci*) and

Nouns of Time (*Nomina Temporis*)

§78. a) Morphemes with *ma-* prefix *maf'alun*, *maf'ilun* are deverbal substantives of place and time. As a rule, when the verb is an *i*-imperfect, the pattern is *maf'ilun*; when it is a *u*- or *a*-imperfect, the pattern is *maf'alun* (§216): *مَنْزِل* *manzilun* 'place where one alights' from *نَزَلَ* *nazala* (يَنْزِلُ) *yanzilu* 'go down, alight', *مَوْعِد* *maw'idun* 'place or time of an appointment'

from وعد *wa'ada* (يعد *yā'idu*) 'give a pledge', مشرب *mashrabun* 'drinking place' from شرب *shariba* (يشرب *yashrabu*) 'drink'. Sometimes, however, *mafilun* occurs when the verb has an *u*-imperfect: مسجد *masjidun* 'mosque' from سجد *sajada* (يسجد *yasjudu*) 'bow in prayer'.

Note 1. II-*w* and *y* roots have *ā* and *ī* as stem vowels. *ī* occurs only in II-*y* roots: مكان *makānun* 'place' from كان *kāna* (يكون *yakūnu*) 'to be', مصير *maṣīrun* 'place at which one arrives' from صار *ṣāra* (يصر *yaṣīru*) 'become'.

b) Morpheme categories *mafilatun*, *mafalatun*, *mafulatun* are formed with the feminine ending *-atun*: مظنة *mazīnnatun* 'place where one presumes to find something/one' from ظنّ *ẓanna* 'think' (يظنّ *yazunnu*), مقبرة *maqbaratun*, مقبرات *maqburatun* 'grave' from قبر *qabara* (يقبر *yaqburu*) 'bury'. Morpheme category *mafalatun* forms denominal terms for places: مأسدة *maṣadatun* 'place frequented by lions' from أسد *asadun* 'lion'. Sometimes the feminine ending is used to establish a specialized meaning: منزل *manzilun* 'place of alighting, stopping place': منزلة *manzilatun* 'position, rank'.

Note 2. Morpheme categories *mafalatun*, *mafilun*, *mafilatun*, *mafa/ul-atun* also function as verbal substantives (§§230, 248.3, 257.3).

Note 3. In the derived verbal stems, the passive participle assumes the role of *ma*-formations: مصلّى *muṣallan* 'place of prayer' from صلى *ṣallā* 'pray' (II), منصرف *munṣarafun* 'departure, or place, time of departure' from أنصرف *(i)nṣarafa* 'depart' (VII), ملتقى *multaqan* 'meeting place, place or time of meeting' from إلتقى *(i)ltaqā* 'meet' (VIII).

Note 4. Sometimes, denominal *mafalatun* has the meaning of a noun indicating cause (*nomina causae*) or abstract collective: مندمة *mandamatun* 'reason for repenting' from ندم *nadima* 'repent', مشيخة *mashyakhātun* 'office or dignity of a sheik, sheikdom' (§89).

c) Infrequently, substantives indicating place and time are formed from I-*w* roots according to the *mifālun* morpheme category (§79): ميعد *mī'ādun* 'appointment' from وعد *wa'ada* 'make a promise', ميلاد *mīlādun* 'time of birth, birthday' from ولد *walada* 'give birth'.

Nouns of Instrument (*Nomina Instrumenti*)

§79. Morpheme categories with *mi-* prefix *mifalun*, *mifalatun*, *mifālun* are used for terms that indicate instrument: مخلب *mikhlabun* 'claw', مكنسة *miknasatun* 'broom', مفتاح *miftāḥun* 'key' from فتح *fataḥa* 'open', ميزان *mīzānun* 'scales' from وزن *wazana* 'weigh', مكواة *mikwātun* 'hot iron' from كوى *kawā* 'burn'.

Note 1. These morpheme categories of II-weak roots always have consonantal *iw* or *y*: معول *miwalun* 'pick', مقياس *miqyāsun* 'measure'.

Note 2. Concerning *mifālun* as a substantive of place and time, see §78c. Concerning adjectival *mifālun*, see §121.

§80. The prefix *mu-* occurs as a variant of *ma-* and *mi-* in forms that are legacies of the pre-classical language: منخل *munkhulun*, *munkhalun* 'sieve', منسل *munṣulun*, *munṣalun* 'sabre', مدق *muduqqun*, later *midaqqun*, 'pestle', مكحلة *mukḥulatun*, later *mikhālatun*, 'kohl jar'. In some cases, various vocalizations have come down: منخر *munkhurun*, *munkharun*, *mankharun*, *mankhirun*, *minkhirun*, *minkharun* 'nostril', مغزل *mighzalun*, *maghzalun*, *mughzalun* 'spindle', مصحف *muṣḥafun*, *maṣḥafun*, *miṣḥafun* 'book, codex'.

Note 1. *mufalun* verbal substantives can be interpreted to be passive participles of verbal stem IV (§230) or *mu-* variants of *mafalun*.

Diminutives

§81. a) The morpheme *fuʾayl* is used for diminutives of one- and two-syllable morphemes with short vowels: كلب *kalbun* 'dog' : كلب *kulaybun*, جبل *jabalun* 'mountain' : جيل *jubaylun*. In III-weak roots, the third radical is always *y*: فتى *fatan* 'youth' : فتى *futayyun*, أب *ʾabun* 'father' (root ʾ-b-w §72 b) : أبي *rubayyun*. Besides indicating smallness, the diminutive often expresses contempt, endearment, or occasionally, even enhancement.

Note 1. In II-*y* roots, the sequence *yay* may be dissimilated to *way*: بيت *baytun* 'house' : بيت *buyaytun*, بويت *buwaytun*.

Note 2. Note بني *bunayya* 'my little son!' instead of **bunayy-iya*.

Note 3. *fuʿaylun* is the diminutive pattern for personal names even for morphemes other than those mentioned above (§81 a): حميد *Ḥumaydun* for أحمد *Aḥmadu*. Often *fuʿaylun* has become the only form of a personal name, independent of the diminutive: قریش *Qurayshun*, حنین *Ḥunaynun*.

b) Derivational suffixes are added to *fuʿayl* without modification: أمة *ʿamatun* ‘maid’ (root ʿ-m-w §70 a) : أمية *umayyatun*, حمراء *ḥamrāʾu* ‘red’ : حمراء *ḥumayrāʾu*, سلمى *Salmā* سليمة *Sulaymā* (proper name). The naturally and grammatically feminine (§§110 ff.) take the feminine ending -*atun* in the diminutive: أم *ummun* ‘mother’ : أميمة *umaymatun*, عين *ʿaynun* ‘eye’ : عينية *ʿuynaynatun*.

Note 4. Diminutives only rarely become independent lexical entities: بحيرة *būḥayratun* ‘lake’. كميث *kumaytun* ‘bay horse’ is a Persian loanword.

§82. a) Diminutives of four-radical morphemes are expanded from *fuʿayl* to *fuʿaylil*. *fuʿaylil* is the corresponding diminutive of a basic form with a long vowel in the final syllable: أکدر *akdaru* ‘turbid’ : أكيدر *ukaydiru*, صندوق *ṣundūqun* ‘trunk’ : صنديق *ṣunaydīqun*, کذاب *kadhḏhābun* ‘liar’ : کذیذب *kudhaydhībun*.

Note 1. With substantives ending in -*ān-un*, -*ān* usually figures as part of the stem; سرحان *sirḥānun* ‘wolf’ : سرحین *surayḥīnun*.

Note 2. Names of plants of the morpheme category *fuʿālun* (§77) frequently have a later form *fuʿaylun*: خباز *khubbāzun*, خبّیز *khubbayzun* ‘mallow’.

Note 3. Note that *yw* > *yy* (§33 c) in: أسود *ʿaswadu* ‘black’ : أسیود *ʿusaywidu* or أسید *ʿusayyidu* (proper name).

Note 4. The plural of a small number (§100) can have a diminutive form: *ʿufayilun* from *ʿafūlun* and *ʿafīlatun*, but *ʿufayālun* from *ʿafālun*: أخبار *akhbārūn* ‘several trivial accounts’ from أخبار *akhbārūn* ‘news’, singular خبر *khābarun*, أثیاب *uthayyābun* (< **uthaywābun* §33 c) ‘several small pieces of clothing’ from أثواب *athwābun* ‘articles of clothing’, singular ثوب *thawbun*.

b) As with plural patterns (§93 b), two-syllable morphemes with long vowels *fā'il*, *fā'al*, *fā'ul* and *fa'āl*, *fī'āl*, *fu'āl*, *fa'il*, *fa'ul*, etc., are regarded as four-consonant morphemes: *fā'ilun* : *fuway'ilun*; *fa/i/wā'lun*, *fa'ū'ilun*: *fuwayyilun*, e.g.: شاعر *shā'irun* 'poet' : شويعر *shuway'irun*, غلام *ghulāmun* 'boy' : غليم *ghulayyimun*, عروس *'arūsun* 'bride' : عريس *urayyisun* (contrary to §81 b, without the feminine ending!).

Note 5. The morphological correspondence *ā* : *uway* comes from nominal forms of II-weak roots, like باب *bābun* 'door' : بويب *buwaybun*.

Note 6. Morphemes *fa/i/wā'l*, *fa'ū'il*, etc., of III-weak roots form diminutives after the *fu'ayl* pattern: سماء *samārun* 'heaven' : سمية *sumayyatun*, عدو *'adūwun* 'enemy' : عدي *'udayyun*, صبي *ṣabīyun* 'boy' : صبي *ṣubayyun*.

Note 7. Words consisting of more than four consonants have abbreviated diminutives: عنكبوت *'ankabūtun* 'spider' : عنيكب *'unaykibun*.

Number of Substantives

§83. Arabic has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. Additionally, there is a collective that is considered either singular and treated masculine, or plural and feminine. The collective plural has, moreover, an individual plural and a plural of a small number (*pluralis paucitatis*).

The basic form of the substantive appears in the singular and the collective. The dual and the so-called external plural, or inflected plural (§§101 ff.), are derived with suffixed inflectional morphemes from the singular. The collective plural and the plural of a small number have several stem pattern morphemes that are secondarily associated with singular morphemes. As such, these are called "internal" or "broken" plurals.

Note 1. Unless there is a semantic reason to prevent it, the dual and the different plurals can be formed from any singular: فرخ *farkhun* 'young bird' (singular) : dual فرخان *farkhāni* 'two young birds', individual plural فرخان *firkhānun*, collective plural فراخ *firākhun*, فروخ *furākhun*, *pluralis paucitatis* أفراخ *afrākhun*, أفرخ *'afrukhun*. A singular collective can replace a collective plural: شجرة *shajaratun* 'one tree' (singular = *nomen unitatis* §84 a) : singular collective شجر *shajarun* 'trees, tree (as a genus)'

(= collective plural), individual plural شجرات *shajarātun* 'trees (as individuals)', *pluralis paucitatis* أشجار *ashjārūn* '(several) trees'. As a result of numerous analogical formations that have occurred in the system of plurals, in usage classical Arabic has given up the distinction among plurals largely in favor of a general plural category: collective plurals can replace individual plurals; the plural of a small number can function as a general plural. Nevertheless, the distinctive plurals can always become productive features again.

Note 2. The term "broken" plural comes from Arabic الجمع المكسر *al-jam' al-mukassar*. It refers to all plural morpheme categories that are not formed with inflectional endings (§§101 ff.). These are called الجمع الصحيح *al-jam' aṣ-ṣaḥiḥ* or الجمع السالم *al-jam' as-sālim* "sound plural". All "broken" plurals are treated grammatically as feminines.

Singular Collectives

§84. a) Generic collectives as a rule have corresponding forms with the feminine ending *-atun* to indicate individual members in a class or of a species (*nomen unitatis*): دمع *dam'un* 'tears' : دمة *dam'atun* 'a tear', حمام *hamāmun* 'pigeon(s)' : حمامة *hamāmatun* 'a (particular) pigeon'. For substances, the individual noun indicates a piece of that substance: حديد *ḥadīdun* 'iron' : حديدة *ḥadīdatun* 'a piece of iron'.

Note 1. A collective for which a *nomen unitatis* is formed is masculine. Only rarely, if the relationship of the *nomen unitatis* to the collective is construed as a singular to collective plural, is the collective treated as feminine (§91).

b) Once in a while, generic collectives that have no *nomen unitatis* occur. The collective is then understood to be the individual noun as well: طير *ṭayrun* 'bird, birds' (collective and singular), plural طيور *ṭuyūrūn* 'birds, flocks of birds', ذباب *dhubābun* 'fly, flies'.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, these collectives sometimes have individual nouns: ذبابة *dhubābatun* 'a fly' (but not so for طير).

§85. Collectives referring to a multitude or masses have no corresponding form indicating the individual. In this category belong such words as: *عسكر* 'askarun 'army (camp)', *إبل* 'ibilun, 'iblu 'herd of camel, camels', *غنم* 'ghanamun '(herd of) small livestock', *جمهور* 'jumhūrun 'multitude of people'. Depending upon whether the quantity is regarded as indicating a plurality or a unit, such words are treated, respectively, as feminine or, less frequently, masculine.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, *عسكري* 'askariyyun 'soldier' is the individual noun of *عسكر* 'askarun (§86 b).

§86. Collectives referring to persons are masculine. For the most part, however, they are treated grammatically according to their meaning as masculine plurals. Counted among them are many words of the morpheme category *fa'lun* (§228), with variants of the pattern *fa'alun*: *قوم* 'qawmun '(standing together' =) 'people, tribe', *شرب* 'sharbu 'drinking party' =) 'binge, drinking crowd', *صحب* 'ṣaḥbu 'company' =) 'companions', *حرس* 'ḥarasun '(guarding' =) 'guard, guards', *خدم* 'khadamun 'servants', and others like *معشر* 'ma'sharun 'clan, kinfolk'.

Note 1. When *fa'lun* is used as a personal collective, its use as a verbal substantive of the basic stem is normally avoided. Cf., for example, *شرب* 'shurbun 'drinking', *قيام* 'qiyāmun 'standing'.

Note 2. *fā'ilun* (active participle) frequently functions as a suppletive individual noun to the personal collective: *شارب* 'shāribun 'drinker', *صاحب* 'ṣāḥibun 'companion', *حارس* 'ḥārisun 'guard'.

Note 3. A personal collective can have 'af'ālun (§100) as a *pluralis paucitatis* form: *نصر* 'naṣrun 'helpers', plural *أنصار* 'anṣārun '(several) helpers' (Name of the Medinan followers of Muḥammad).

b) Collective names of tribes and people are treated as feminines: *يهود* 'yahūdun 'Jews', *هند* 'hindun 'Indians' and 'India', *قریش* 'Qurayshun (the principal Meccan tribe). The related *nisbah* adjective (§§116 f.) functions at the same time as an individual noun: *يهودي* 'yahūdiyyun 'Jew', *هندي* 'hindīyyun 'Indian', *قرشي* 'qurashīyyun 'Qurayshite'.

Note 4. Occasionally there are special forms for individual nouns: **إنس** *insun* 'human race': **إنسان** *insānun* (§65.1) 'human being', along with **إنسي** *insiyyun* 'human, human being', **جنّ** *jinnun* 'jinn, demons': **جانّ** *jānnun* 'demon', and **جنيّ** *jinniyyun* 'demonic, demon'.

“Broken” Plurals

§87. Plural inflectional endings (§101) are used for only a portion of nouns to form plurals. The majority of substantives, as well as adjectives (§§122 f.), have a number of stem pattern morphemes in the plural, which cannot be derived from the singular morpheme. Only four-consonant morphemes have a consistent plural formation that is based on a singular morpheme that typically has the morphemic vowel sequence *a-ā-i* (§§93 ff.). The most likely or usual plural forms must be determined individually from the lexicon.

§88. Morpheme categories *fuʾulun*, *fiʾālun*, *fuʾūlun* are used very frequently (*faʾūlun* rarely) (§74) as plural morphemes. *fuʾulun* occurs mostly as plural of singular morphemes that have long vowels in the second stem syllable. *fiʾālun*, *fuʾūlun* often occur as plurals of singular morphemes that have one or two syllables with short vowels.

Note 1. See §122 concerning *fuʾulun*, *fiʾālun*, *fuʾūlun* as plurals of adjectives.

fuʾulun, often shortend to *fuʾlun*: **كتاب** *kitābun* 'book': **كتب** *kutubun*, **سرير** *sarīrun* 'bed': **سُرر** *sururun*, **سقف** *saqfun* 'roof, ceiling': **سُقُف** *suqufun*, **ناقة** *nāqatun* 'camel': **نُوق** *nūqun* (§36 a).

Note 2. *fuʾlun* is avoided in II-geminate roots. In II-y roots, *uy* in *fuʾlun* becomes *ī* (§33 b): **ناب** *nābun* 'old camel': **نِيب** *nāibun*.

fiʾālun: **رجل** *rajulun* 'man': **رجال** *rijālun* (§72 e), **كلب** *kalbun* 'dog': **كِلَاب** *kilābun*. Cf. §33 a.

fuʾūlun: **عين** *aynun* 'eye': **عيون** *uyūnun*, **ملك** *malikun* 'king': **ملوك** *mulūkun*, **عصا** *aṣan* 'stick': **عصيّ** *uṣīyun*, *īṣīyun* (§§34 a, 37). Notice **قوس** *qawsun* 'bow': **قسيّ** *qusīyun*, *qisīyun* (q-s-y).

fa'īlun: (infrequently as a plural morpheme): عبد *abdun* 'slave': عبید
'*abidun*, حمار *ḥimārun* 'ass': حمیر *ḥamīrun*.

§89. a) Abstract substantives formed with the feminine ending *-atun* from substantivized adjectives (§73 c) that refer to persons often function as plural collectives: حمال *ḥammālun* 'porter': حمالة *ḥammālatun* 'carrier, porters', صوفي *ṣūfiyyun* 'mystic, sufi': صوفیة *ṣūfiyyatun* 'Sufism, Sufis', مسلم *muslimun* 'Muslim': مسلمة *muslimatun* 'Muslims in general, Muslims'.

Note 1. The individual plural is formed with the inflectional ending *-ūna* (§102): حمالون *ḥammālūna*, صوفیون *ṣūfiyyūna*, مسلمون *muslimūna*.

b) *-atun* in combination with the morphemes *fī'l*, *fī'al*, *fa'al*, *fī'āl* and *fī'ūl* forms abstract collectives that function as plurals:

fī'latun: غلام *ghulāmun* 'lad': غلمة *ghilmaturun*, فتی *fatun* 'youth': فتية *fityatun*, أخ *akhun* 'brother' (§72 b): إخوة *ikhwatun*.

fī'alatun, predominantly with names of animals: قرد *qirdun* 'ape': قردة *qiradatun*, دب *dubun* 'bear': دببة *dibabatun*.

fa'alatun, *fā'ilun*, *fa'īlun* as terms referring to persons: طالب *ṭālibun* 'student': طالبة *ṭalabatun*, ضعيف *da'ifun* 'weakling': ضعفة *da'afatun*.

Note 2. With II-weak roots, *fa'alatun* is formed with stem vowel *ā* as well as with consonantal *w* or *y*: سيد *sayyidun* 'master': سادة *sādatun*, خائن *khā'inun* 'traitor': خونة *khāwanatun*.

fī'ālatun: حجر *ḥajarun* 'stone': حجارة *ḥijāratun*, جمل *jamalun* 'camel': جمالة *jimālatun* (see also §106 b).

Note 3. *fa'ālatun* occurs as a variant: صاحب *ṣāhibun* 'companion': صحابة *ṣaḥābatun* 'companions', specifically the 'Companions of the Prophet'.

fu'ūlatun with terms of relationship, etc.: عم *ammun* 'paternal uncle': عمومة *umūmatun*, فحل *fahlun* 'male animal, stallion': فحولة *fuḥūlatun*.

Note 4. *maf'alatun*, *maf'ulatun* (§230) also occur on occasion as abstract collectives: مشيخة *mashyakhaturun* 'office or dignity of a sheik, sheikdom, community of sheiks' from شيخ *shaykhun* 'elder, master, religious scholar'.

§90. Plural morpheme categories derived from the expanded morpheme category *fuʿal/fuʿāl* occur almost exclusively as broken plurals of *fāʿilun*, *faʿilun* which refer to persons. In addition, they are used on occasion as plurals of the active participle *fāʿilun*.

Note 1. Morpheme categories *fiʿillā*, *fiʿillāʾu*, *fiʿillatun*, *fiʿillānun*, which are derived from the expanded *fiʿill*, and *maʿfūlāʾu*, which is formed from the passive participle, are cited by the Arab grammarians as plural morphemes without, however, being attested.

fuʿālun (rare): راع *rāʿin* 'shepherd' : رعاء *ruʿārun*, إنسان *ʿinsānun* 'human' : أناس *ʿunāsun* (§49 d), توأم *tawāmun* 'twin' : تؤام *tuwāmun*.

fuʿalatun (§69.3), *fāʿilun* of III-weak roots: رام *rāmin* 'throwing, archer' : رامة *rumātun*, قاض *qāḍin* 'judge' : قضاة *quḍātun*.

fuʿalāʾu: شاعر *shāʿirun* 'poet' : شعراء *shuʿarāʾu*, وزير *wazīrun* 'minister, vizier' : وزراء *wuzarāʾu*, خليفة *khalīfatun* (§73 a) 'successor, caliph' : خلفاء *khulafāʾu*. See §§152 f. on the inflection.

Note 2. See §122 on *fuʿālā*, plural of *faʿlā*.

Note 3. The plural of بريء *barīʾun* 'innocent' : *burāʾu* is shortened to براء *burāʾu* or *burāʾun* to avoid the sequence براء.

fuʿʿalun: ساجد *sājidun* 'bowing in prayer' : سجد *sujjadun*, باهل *bāhilun* 'free' : بهل *buhhalun*.

fuʿʿālun: كاتب *kātibun* 'scribe' : كتّاب *kuttābun*, كافر *kāfirun* 'unbeliever' : كفّار *kuffārun*.

Note 4. The second radical in *fuʿʿalun*, *fuʿʿālun* of II-*w* roots as a plural of *fāʿilun* can be *w* or *y* (§68 c): نائم *nāʾimun* 'sleeping' : plural نؤم *nuwwamun*, نؤام *nuwwāmun* or نيم *nuyyamun*, نيتام *nuyyāmun*.

§91. In analogy with the generic collective that takes the *nomen unitatis* ending *-atun* (§84 a), the collective plural of singular *faʿlatun*, *faʿalatun*, *fiʿlatun*, *fuʿlatun* is formed conversely by the dropping of *-atun*: *faʿalun* plural of *faʿlatun* and *faʿalatun*, *fiʿalun* plural of *fiʿlatun*, *fuʿalun* plural of *fuʿlatun*.

fa'alun: حلقة *ḥalqatun*, ḥalaqatun 'ring': حلق *ḥalaqun*, بكرة *bakratun* 'reel': بكر *bakarun*, شامة *shāmatun* 'mole': شام *shāmun*, علاة *alātun* 'anvil': علا *alan*.

fi'alun: حكمة *ḥikmatun* 'wisdom': حکم *ḥikamun*, لمة *limmatun* 'lock of hair': لم *limamun*, قيمة *qīmatun* 'value': قيم *qiyamun*.

fu'alun: ركة *rukbatun* 'knee': ركب *rukabun*, فوطة *fūtātun* 'apron': فوط *fuwaṭun*, كلية *kulyatun* 'kidney': کلی *kulan*.

Note 1. In the plural of *fa'latun* of II-weak roots, the vowel of the first syllable is determined by the radical *w* or *y*: نوبة *nawbatun* 'change': نوب *nuwabun*, خيمة *khaymatun* 'tent': خيم *khiyamun*.

Note 2. The vocalization of the plural of قرية *qaryatun* 'village': قری *quran* is exceptional.

Note 3. *fu'alu*, with diptotic inflection (§152), occurs as plural of *fu'lā* (§127): أخرى *ukhrā* 'another': آخر *ukharu* (§127 b).

Note 4. Individual plurals ending in *-ātun* retain in these words the plural morpheme pattern: *fa'alātun*, *fi'alātun*, *fu'alātun*. See §105 a.

§92. Plural morphemes formed with the suffix *-ān*, *fi'lānun* and *fu'lānun*, function primarily as individual plurals for animate beings. Through numerous analogical formations, however, the use of this plural formation has become widespread.

fi'lānun: غزال *ghazālun* 'gazelle': غزلان *ghizlānun*, فتى *fatan* 'youth': فتيان *fityānun*, جار *jārun* 'neighbor': جيران *jīrānun*; *fi'lānun* is above all the plural of II-weak root substantives: تاج *tājun* 'crown': تيجان *tījānun*, كوع *kūun* 'wrist bones': كيعان *kīānun*, حائط *ḥāṭun* 'wall': حيطان *ḥiṭānun*.

Note 1. The collective plural of *fi'lānun* is *fi'latun* (§89 b): غزلة *ghizlatun*, فتية *fityatun*. إخوة *ikhwatun* is the usual plural of أخ *akhun*, with the meaning '(natural) brothers'. إخوان *ikhwānun* is used in the sense of 'brethren' or 'members of an order'.

fuṣṣānūn: فارس *fārisun* 'rider, knight' : فرسان *fursānūn*, صبي *ṣabīyūn* 'boy' : صبيان *ṣubyānūn* or *ṣibyānūn*. *fuṣṣānūn* is frequently associated with *fuṣṣūn* (*fuṣṣūn*): غدير *ghadīrun* 'pond' : غدران *ghudūrūn* (§88), غدران *ghudrānūn*.

Note 2. *fuṣṣānūn* is also an extended form of adjectival plural *fuṣṣūn* (§119).

Plural of Four-Consonant Morpheme Categories

§93. a) All four-consonant morpheme categories have as "broken" plurals a lengthened stem that is morphologically marked by the vowel sequence *a-ā-i/i*. A basic rule applies, namely, that singular stems with short vowels in the final syllables have *i* in the plural, while those with long vowels in the final syllables have *ī* in the plural. Morpheme categories formed with *a-ā-i/i*, except for *fa'ālilātun* (§96), are diptotically inflected (§152).

b) With regard to their plural formation, four-consonant morpheme categories are: 1. four-radical and three-radical (four-consonant) morphemes (§62 e-g); 2. morpheme categories formed with prefixes (§66); 3. morpheme categories formed with long vowels or *aw*, *ay* in initial syllables (§62 d); 4. morpheme categories with long vowels in the second syllable of the stem (§62 c); 5. three-radical morpheme categories formed with suffixes *-ā*, *-āu*, *-ān* and endings *-ātun*, *iyatun*, *-uwatun* that are treated like IV-weak roots.

Note 1. The basic categories *fa'ālilu*, *fa'ālilu* have variants with prefixed morpheme categories *ʾa-/ta-/ma-fā'ilu* and *ʾa-/ta-/ma-/ya-fā'ilu* and with morpheme categories with doubled second radical *fa'ā'ilu*, *fa'ā'ilu*.

Note 2. Stem final *ī* in *fa'ālilu* of III- and IV-weak roots is treated triptotically (*-in*) in the nominative and genitive, but diptotically (*-iya*) in the accusative (§156).

Note 3. The plural of ليلة *laylatun* 'night' is formed from four-radical root *l-y-l-y*: ليال *layālīn* (stem *layālī*).

§94. *fa'ālilu* (*ʾa-/ta-/ma-fā'ilu*, etc.): درهم *dirhamun* 'drachma' : دراهم *dirāhimu*, كوكب *kawkabun* 'star' : كواكب *kawākibu*, تجربة *tajribatun* 'trial' : تجارب *tajāribu*, إصبع *isṣab'un* 'finger' : أصابع *aṣābi'u*; (II-geminate roots) محال *maḥallun* 'station' : محال *maḥallu*; (III- and IV-weak roots) أفعى *ʾafan*

'viper' : أفاع *afā'in*, مرثية *marthiyatun* 'elegy': مرث *marāthin*, سحابة *si'lātun* 'female demon': سعال *sa'ālin*, ترقوة *tarquwatun* 'collarbone': تراق *tarāqin*.

Note 1. In II-weak roots, *w* or *y*, insofar as it is a root element, regularly appears as a consonant: ملام *malāmun*, ملامة *malāmatun*, 'rebuke': ملاوم *malāwimu*, معاب *ma'ābun* 'fault': معايب *ma'āyibu*. Sometimes, however, its usual plural is formed on the pattern *fa'ā'ilu* (§98): مصيبة *muṣībātun* 'misfortune': مصائب *maṣāribu*, منارة *manāratun* 'minaret': منائر *manā-irū*.

Note 2. Root I-*w* words of the pattern *mif'alun* form plurals with the *w* of the root or with *y*: ميسم *mīsamun* 'branding iron': مواسم *mawāsimu*, ميام *mayāsimu*.

Note 3. Some words of the pattern *maf'ā'ilu*, like محاسن *maḥāsīnu* 'good qualities', مساوي *masāwīru* (often مساو *masāwin*) 'bad qualities' are encountered only in the plural.

§95. *fa'ālīlu* (ʾa-/ta-/ma-/ya-fā'ilu, etc.): شيطان *shayṭānun* 'devil': شياطين *shayāṭīnu*, تصريف *taṣrīfun* 'change': تصاريف *taṣārīfu* 'vicissitudes', ميزان *mīzānun* (< **miwzānun*) 'scales': موازين *mawāzīnu*, ينبوع *yanbū'un* 'spring, well': ينابيع *yanābīru*; (III- and IV-weak roots) أغنية *ughnīyatun* 'song' (§33 b): أغاني *aghānīyu*, كرسي *kursīyun* 'throne': كراسي *karāsīyu*.

Note 1. The *fa'ālīlu* pattern of III- and IV-weak roots can be abbreviated to *fa'ālīlu* (§93.2): آغان *aghānin*, كراس *karāsin*.

Note 2. *Nisbah* formations are infrequently treated like IV-weak roots: بخاتي *bukhtīyyun* 'Bactrian (two-humped) camel': بخاتي *bakhātīyu*, بخات *bakhātīn*.

Note 3. *maf'ūlun* (passive participle, §223) has the plural *maf'ā'ilu* only as a substantive: مرسوم *marsūmun* 'decree': مراسيم *marāsīmu*.

Note 4. Words with *ī* in the first syllable frequently form their plurals by repeating the second radical: دیوان *dīwānun* 'divan' : دواوین *dawāwīnu*, دینار *dīnārun* 'dinar' : دانانیر *danānīru*, similarly دیباج *dībājun* 'brocade', قیراط *qīrāṭun* 'inch, unit of measure'; regular, however, نشان *nīshānun* 'sign' : نایشین *nayāshīnu*.

Note 5. Contrary to the basic rule in §93, sometimes *fa'ālilu* occurs in place of *fa'ālilu*: سلم *sullamun* 'leader' : سلام *salālimu*, سلالیم *salālīmu*; مطفل *muṭṭilun* 'mother animal' : مطافل *maṭāṭilu*, مطافیل *maṭāṭīlu*. In poetry, the use of *fa'ālilu* or *fa'ālilu* is largely determined by metre.

Note 6. Words with more than four consonants are abbreviated in the plural *fa'āli/īlu*: منجنیق *manjanīqun* 'catapult' : مجانیق *majānīqu*, عنكبوت *ankabūtun* 'spider' : عناکب *anākibu*.

§96. *fa'ālilatun* functions as a collective plural of forms that refer to people (§89 a): جبار *jabbārūn* 'despot' : جبابة *jabābiratun*, تلمیذ *tilmīdhun* 'student' : تلامذة *talāmīdhātun*, فیلسوف *faḥlasūfun* 'philosopher' : فلاسفة *falāsīfatun*, ملحد *mulhidun* 'heretic' : ملاحدة *malāḥīdatun*.

Note 1. This morpheme category can also occur in *nisbah* forms: بغدادی *baghdādiyyun* 'Baghdadi' : بغدادة *baghdādidatun*, مہلبی *muhallabiyyun* 'follower of Muhallab' : مہالبة *mahālibatun*; similarly in genitive construct names: عبد الله *Abdu 'llāh* : عبادة *Abādilah*, إمرؤ القیس *Imrwu 'l-Qays* : مراقسة *Marāqisah*.

Note 2. The plural ملائكة *malā'ikatun* 'angel' of ملك *malakun* comes from an older form ملاک *malākun*.

§97. *fawā'īlu/fawā'īlu* is a plural morpheme of words that have *ā*, infrequently *ū*, in the first syllable of the stem. The regular plural of substantive *fā'īlatun* is *fawā'īlu*.

fawā'īlu: ناحية *nāḥiyatun* 'direction' : نواح *nawāḥīn*, قائمة *qā'imatun* 'leg' : قوائم *qawā'im*, فارس *fārisun* 'horseman' : فوارس *fawārisu*, قالب *qālabun* 'mold' : قوالب *qawālibu*, (II-geminate root) خاصة *khāṣṣatun* 'peculiarity' : خواص *khawāṣṣu*, تونية *tūniyatun* 'tunic' : توان *tawānīn*.

Note 1. *fawā'ilatun* is also formed on the pattern *fa'ālilatun*: تونسي *tūnisiyyun* 'Tunisian': توانسة *tawānisatun*.

fawā'ilu: طاعون *tawārīkhū*, تاريخ *tārīkhun* (< *ta'rikhun*) 'history': طواعين *ṭawā'inu*, طومار *ṭumārūn* 'scroll': *ṭawāmīru*.

Note 2. Singular forms with long vowels in the first or second syllable originate secondarily in post-classical plurals like عواميد *awāmīdu* 'columns', خواتيم *khawātīmu* 'seals': عامود *āmūdun* instead of عمود *amūdun*, خاتم *khātāmūn* instead of خاتم *khātāmūn*.

§98. *fa'ā'ilu* occurs in morpheme categories that have long vowels in the second syllable of the stem, especially those formed with the feminine ending -*atun*: سحابة *saḥābatun* 'cloud': سحاب *saḥāribu*, ذؤابة *dhwābatun* 'lock' (of hair): ذؤاب *dhawāribu* (< **dhawāribu* §41 a), عجيبة *ajībatun* 'miracle': عجائب *ajāribu*, دليل *dalīlun* 'indication': دلائل *dalā'ilu*, عروس *arūsun* 'bride': عرائس *arā'isu*.

Note 1. حرائر *ḥarā'iru* (without a singular) occurs suppletively as a feminine plural of singular حر *ḥurrūn* 'noble, free'.

§99. a) The plural of *fa'lā*, *fī'lā*, *fu'lā* and substantive *fa'lā'u* can be regular *fa'ālīn* (stem *fa'ālī*), on the pattern *fa'ālīlu*, or *fa'ālā*, which retains the -*ā* suffix: فتوى *fatwā* 'legal opinion': فتاوى *fatāwin*, فتاوى *fatāwā*, ذفرى *dhifrā* 'camel's sweat gland behind the ear': ذفار *dhafārin*, ذفارى *dhafārā*, عذراء *adhārā* 'virgin': عذارى *adhārīn*, عذارى *adhārā*.

Note 1. By analogy with the formation described in §95.1, *fa'ālīlu* forms also occur, but infrequently: عذارى *adhārīyu*, ذفارى *dhafārīyu*.

Note 2. Occasionally, *nisbah* formations also have the *fa'ālā* plural pattern (cf. §95.2): بختى *bukhtīyyun* 'Bactrian camel': بخاتى *bakhātā*, مهري *mahriyyun* 'Mahra camel': مہار *mahārin*, مہارى *mahārā*, مہارى *mahārī*, نصراني *naṣrāniyyun* 'Christian': نصار *naṣārīn*, نصارى *naṣārā*, نصارى *naṣārīyu*.

Note 3. The adjective pattern *faʿlā* (singular feminine or plural, §§119; 122) mostly has the plural *faʿālā*, variant *fuʿālā*. In several cases, the primary singular morpheme has become obsolete: يتامى *yatāmā* ‘orphans’, plural of يتيم *yatīmun*.

b) *faʿālā* occurs with III-weak roots in place of *faʿāʾilu* (§98) and infrequently instead of *fāʾilatun*: هديّة *hadīyatun* ‘gift’: هدايا *hadāyā*, هراوة *hirāwatun* ‘club’: هراوى *harāwā*, زاوية *zāwiyatun* ‘corner, angle’: زوايا *zawāyā*.

Note 4. Note خطيئة *khaṭīʾatun* ‘sin’: خطايا *khaṭāyā* (§67 a).

Plural of “Paucity”, or a Small Number

§100. The plural of a small number (3–10) *pluralis paucitatis* is indicated by prefixed ʾa-: ʾafulun for *fuʿulun*, ʾafālun for *fiʿālun*, ʾafilatun for *faʿalatun* or *fiʿalatun*, ʾafilāʾu for *fuʿalāʾu*.

ʾafulun: أنهر *nahr* ‘river’: أنهر *anhurun*, عين *aynun* ‘eye’: أعين *ayyunun*, (III-weak root §34 a) دلو *dalwun* ‘bucket’: أدل *adlin*, أمة *amatun* ‘maid’ (§70a): أم *āmin* (§40).

Note 1. With a II-*w* root, أدور *adwurun*, plural of دار *dārun* ‘dwelling’, has the variants أدور *adurun*, آدر *ādurun* (§41 b). ناقة *nāqatun* ‘female camel’ has additionally an alternative plural أئيق *aynuqun*.

ʾafālun: قدم *qadamun* ‘foot’: أقدام *aqdāmun*, باب *bābun* ‘gate’: أبواب *abwābun*, يوم *yawmun* ‘day’: أيام *ayyāmun* (§33 c), أب *abun* ‘father’: آباء *ābārun* (§§40 and 72 b), بئر *birun* ‘well’: آبأر *abārūn*, آبار *ābārūn* (§41 b).

Note 2. The ʾafāl pattern of شيء *shayʾun* ‘thing’ is treated as a diptote under influence of the ending -āʾu (§64 c): أشياء *ashyāʾu*.

ʾafilatun: جناح *janāhun* ‘wing’: أجنحة *ajniḥatun*, دواء *dawāʾun* ‘remedy’: أدوية *adwiyatun*, إله *ilāhun* (§8) ‘deity’: آلهة *ālīhatun* (§40), (II-geminate root) إمام *imāmun* ‘model’: أممة *ayimmatun* (§41 a).

ʾafilāʾu: قريب *qarībun* ‘relative’: أقرباء *aqribāʾu*, غني *ghanīyūn* ‘wealthy’: أغنياء *aghniyāʾu*.

Note 3. A small number is also expressed by the plural diminutive: سنّيات *sunayyātun* 'several years', from سنة *sanatun* 'year' (§70 b), نسيّة *nusayy-atun* 'several women', from نسيوة *niswatun* 'women' (§72 e).

“Sound” (Inflected) Plural

§101. The inflected plural endings, masculine *-ūna/-īna*, feminine *-ātun/-ātin*, are used only to a limited extent for substantives. Adjectives (participles) used as substantives frequently take inflected plurals. As such, *-ūna* may be used for masculines referring to people, and *-ātun* for feminines referring to people and things: سارق *sāriqun* 'stealing, thief', سارقة *sāriqatun* 'thief' (fem.) : سارقون *sāriqūna* 'thieves', سارقات *sāriqātun* 'thieves' (fem.); مسروق *masrūqun* 'stolen, loot' : مسروقات *masrūqātun*; طالبی *tālibiyyun* 'descended from Abū Tālib, Talibite' : طالبیون *tālibiyyūna*. Generally, corresponding “broken” plurals also occur for such “sound” plurals: سرقة *saraqatun*, سراق *surrāqun* 'thieves', سوارق *sawāriqu* (fem.).

§102. The pattern *fa‘ālun*, *nisbah*-forms (§216), and diminutives form inflected plurals exclusively and, as a rule, have no corresponding “broken” plurals: شویر *shuwayirun* 'lesser poet' : شویرون *shuwayirūna*, شوی *shuwayrun* 'trifle' : شویات *shuwayātun*. Exceptions are rare; cf. §§95.2; 96.1; 99.2. In addition, verbal substantives and participles of the derived verbal stems, as well as the passive participle *maf‘ūlun*, usually have only inflected plurals: تغیر *taghayyurun* 'change' : تغیرات *taghayyurātun*, مسیر *musirun* 'mentor' : مسیرون *musirūna*. *tafā‘ilu* and *mafā‘i/īlu* (§95) can occur on occasion as plurals for morpheme categories *tafīlun* and *mufī/alun*, *maf‘ūlun*. Occasionally, *‘afā‘ilu* occurs as plural of *‘ifā‘alun*: إملاء *imlā‘un* 'dictation': أمال *amālīn* (§95.1).

Note 1. Personal names can take the inflected plural: (‘a)ل-العمر *umarūna* 'the Umars', (‘a)ل-الطلحات *t-talaḥatātu* 'the Ṭalḥas' (masc.), (‘a)ل-العبلات *abalātu* (§105) 'women named Abla'; the names of months may have *-ātun*: (‘a)ل-الحرمات *muḥarramātu*, rarely (‘a)ل-الحاریم *maḥarrīmu*, 'the months of Muḥarram'. The plural of four-consonant names is usually *fa‘ālī/īlu*: (‘a)ل-الیرایع *yarābī‘u* 'the people of Banū Yarbū‘.

§103. a) The following primary substantives form plurals with *-ūna*: أرض *arḍun* 'earth': أرضون *arḍūna*, أراض *aradūna* (also أراضات *aradātun*; cf. §105), أهل *ahlun* 'people, inhabitants': أهلون *ahlūna*, ابن (i) *bnun* 'son' (§72 c): بنون *banūna*. In pre-classical Arabic, *-ūna* is sometimes used for the individual plural of living beings: عبد *abdun* 'slave': عبدون *abdūna*.

Note 1. See §131 concerning the use of *-ūna* with numerals.

Note 2. عِلِّيَّيُون *illiyyūna* 'highest spheres' is treated as a plural, even though its origin is Hebrew *elyōn*.

b) Substantives of the pattern *Ca/i/uC-atun* (§70 a) mainly have *-ūna* and *-ātun* plural forms: كرة *kuratun* 'ball': كرون *kurūna* (§37.1), كرات *kurātun*; رئة *riṭun* 'lung': رئون *riṭūna*, رئات *riātun*; سنة *sanatun* 'year': سنون *sinūna* (§37.1), سنوات *sanawātun*; هن *hanun* 'something' (§72 d): هنات *hanātun*, هنوات *hanawātun* 'things, whatnot', هون *hanūna* 'this one and that one'.

Note 3. The following words do not have *-ūna* plurals: حمة *ḥumātun* 'sting': حمات *ḥumātun*, لثة *lithātun* 'gum': لثات *lithātun*, لثى *lithan*.

§104. a) *-ātun* forms individual plurals of feminine living beings: أم *ummun* 'mother': أمات *ummātun*, أمهات *ummahātun*; بنت *bintun*, ابنة (i) *bnatun* 'daughter': بنات *banātun*, أخت *ukhtun* 'sister': أخوات *akhawātun*, عمّة *ammātun* (paternal) 'aunt': عمّات *ammātun*.

b) Unless usage favors a "broken" plural (§102), all abstracts, verbal substantives, and nouns referring to inanimate objects may form plurals with *-ātun*: جهة *jihatun* 'direction': جهات *jihātun*, لباس *libāsun* 'clothing': لباسات *libāsātun*.

Note 1. In foreign words of recent origin, *-ātun* occurs also as a plural of forms referring to masculine individuals; باشا *bāshā* 'Pasha': باشوات *bāshawātun*.

§105. a) In singulars which have the feminine ending *-atun*, *-ātun* replaces the singular ending, and in the process morpheme categories *fa'latun*, *fi'latun*, *fu'latun* undergo variation in the stem to *fa'al-*, *fi'al-* (*fi'il-*), *fu'al-*.

(*fwul*-): ضربة *darbatun* 'blow' : ضربات *darabātun*, كسرة *kisratun* 'fragment' : كسرات *kisarātun*, *kisirātun*, ظلمة *ḡulmatun* 'darkness' : ظلمات *ḡulamātun*, *ḡulumātun*. The stem variation may be suppressed in *fi/u*-*latun* : *kisrātun*, *ḡulmātun*.

Note 1. There is no such change in the stem in II-geminate and II-weak roots: شدة *shaddatun* 'assault' : شدات *shaddātun*, هيئة *hayātun* 'form' : هيئات *hayātun*.

Note 2. The feminine plural of adjectival *faʿlun* is *faʿlātun* (§115).

b) -*ātun* is suffixed to -*ā*, -*āu* and, as a result, the phonological rules in §35 b take effect: ذكرى *dhikrā* 'memory' : ذكريات *dhikrayātun*, حبلى *ḡublā* 'pregnant' : حبلیات *ḡublayātun*, خضراء *ḡhadrāu* 'herb' : خضراوات *ḡhadrāwātun*.

Note 3. Exceptionally, stem final -*ā* behaves in the same way in سماء *samāun* 'heaven' : سموات *samāwātun* (§8).

Note 4. *w* or *y* appears before -*ātun* in III-weak roots with stem-final -*ā*: صلاة *ṣalātun* 'prayer' : صلوات *ṣalawātun*, قناة *qanātun* 'tube' : قنوات *qanawātun*, قنایات *qanayātun*; ملتی *multaqan* 'meeting' : ملتقيات *multaqayātun* (§35 a).

Combined Plural Morphemes

§106. a) Since the plural of a small number (§100) is interpreted as a collective, its plural is formed accordingly as *afāʿi/īlu*: رھط *raḡṡun* 'one's people' : أرھط *arḡuṡun* 'several of such groups of people' = 'tribe' : أراھط *arāḡiṡu* 'tribes', قول *qawlun* 'saying, doctrine' : أقوال *aqwālun* 'doctrines, sayings' : أقاویل *aqāwīlu* 'groups of (common) doctrines, sayings', يد *yadun* 'hand' : أید *aydin* 'several hands, assistance' : آیاد *ayādīn* 'acts of assistance'.

Note 1. The *faʿālīlu* plural pattern for plurals ending in -*ūna* figures in: أرض *arḡun* 'earth' : أراض *arādūna* : أراض *arādīn* 'grounds', أهل *aḡlun* 'people, inhabitants' : أهلون *aḡlūna* : أهال *aḡālīn* 'population'.

Note 2. بلد *baladun* 'place' : بلاد *bilādun* 'places' = 'country' : بلدان *buldānun* 'countries' is unique.

b) Occasionally -ātun forms individual plurals of “broken” plurals: صاحبة *ṣāhibatun* ‘companion’ (fem.) : صواحب *ṣawāhibu*; *ṣawāhibātun*; جمل *jamalun* ‘camel’ : جمال *jamālun* : جمالات *jamālātun*; بيت *baytun* ‘tent, house, family’ : بيوت *buyūtun* : بيوتات *buyūtātun* ‘noble families’.

Dual

§107. The dual indicates two individuals or examples of the same. It is formed by adding to the singular the endings -āni/-ayni (§147) where the case suffixes would be: عام *āmun* ‘year’ : عامان *āmāni* ‘two years’, سنة *sanatun* ‘year’ : سنتان *sanatāni* ‘two years’.

Note 1. When the dual endings are added to -ā, -ā, the phonological rules in §35 a and b are in effect: عصى *fatayāni* فتیان : فتى *fatān* ‘youth’; شكوياں *shakwayāni* شکوی : عصوان *aṣawāni* ‘stick’; حرباوان *hīrbāwāni* حرباء : *hīrbārun* ‘chameleon’.

§108. a) Two paired persons or things can be expressed by the dual of one of them: الأبوان *l-abawāni* ‘the parents’, dual of أب *ʾabun* ‘father’, الحسنان *l-Ḥasanāni* ‘Hasan and Husayn’, القمران *l-qamarāni* ‘sun and moon’, dual of *qamarun* ‘moon’.

Note 1. Adjectives and elatives have substantive duals with enigmatic meanings: الأبيضان *l-abyadāni* ‘the two whites’, i.e., ‘water and milk’, الأبردان *l-abradāni* ‘the two colds’, i.e., evening and morning’.

Note 2. When pairs are distinguished by different attributes, the attributes are in the singular: كساءان أبيض وأخضر *kisāʾāni ʾabyaḍu wa-akhḍaru* ‘two pieces of clothing, one white and one green’, i.e., ‘a white and a green garment’.

b) The dual of collectives or of collective plurals indicates duality of the example or quantity: غنم *ghanamun* ‘small livestock’ : غنمان *ghanamāni* ‘two small livestock herds’, رماح *rimāḥun* (sing. رمح *rumḥun*) ‘lances’ : رماحان *rimāḥāni* ‘two groups of lances’.

Note 3. A *nomen unitatis* (§84 a) may form an individual dual: حمامتان *hamāmatāni* ‘two doves’.

§109. a) The dual particle كلا *kilā*, fem. كلتا *kiltā* (§64.1) is followed by a genitive or personal pronoun suffix: كلا هذين *kilā hādhayni* 'both of these', كلتا الحتین *kiltā 'l-jannatayni* 'both gardens', or كلانا *kilānā* 'both of us', كلاكما *kilākumā* 'both of you'.

Note 1. Instead of a genitive dual, two genitives in the singular may occur:

كلا السيف والرمح *kilā 's-sayfi wa-'r-rumhi* 'both, the sword and the lance'.

b) *kilā*, *kiltā* are indeclinable in combination with substantives in the genitive: كلا البلدين *fī kilā 'l-baladayni* 'in both places'. With personal suffixes, the oblique forms are: *kilay*, *kiltay*: بكليتنا *bi-kilaynā* 'with us both', كليهما *fī 'l-wādiyayni kilayhimā* 'in both wadis'.

Note 2. Expressions with *kilā*, *kiltā* are treated grammatically as singulars: كلا العبدین رآها *kilā 'l-'abdayni ra'āhā* 'both slaves saw her'. Dual constructions *ad sensum* occasionally occur.

Gender of Substantives

§110. Substantives are classified into two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. Masculine substantives are those that are not distinguished by the feminine ending or are not treated as feminine because of meaning. Feminines by morphological form are those substantives with the feminine ending -*atun*, -*ā*, -*ā'u* (§64): مدة *muddatun* 'period of time', ذکری *dhikrā* 'memory', فسيفساء *fusayfisā'u* 'mosaic'.

Note 1. As a feminine ending -*atun* forms feminines that refer to persons:

خال *khālun* 'maternal uncle': خالة *khālatun* 'maternal aunt', فتی *fatān* 'youth': فتاة *fatātun* 'young woman'.

Note 2. Masculines ending in -*atun* that refer to persons (§73 a) are treated grammatically as masculines. Usually, حية *hayyatun* 'snake' is masculine, but also occasionally feminine.

§111. Because of their meanings, the following substantives are grammatically feminine:

a) Words that indicate feminine beings: أم *ummun* 'mother', عجوز *ajūzun* 'old woman'. Cf. for this §113.1, adjectives.

Note 1. The names of animals are treated as feminines, if the female is intended: ثعلب *tha'labun* 'fox', as feminine 'vixen'. Conversely, فرس *farasun* 'mare', when it means 'horse', is masculine.

b) The names of countries, cities, etc., if they are diptotes (§153): مصر *miṣru* 'Egypt', جهنم *jahannamu* 'Hell'.

c) Collectives and "broken plurals" (§84 ff.).

Note 2. Generic collectives are as a rule masculine (§84.1). All collectives and collective plurals may be treated, contrary to the basic rule, as *ad sensum* plurals, if they are intended as individual plurals of living beings, especially people.

d) A series of words, such as نفس *nafsun* 'soul' (§273), أرض *arḍun* 'earth', ريح *riḥun* 'wind', نار *nārun* 'fire', شمس *shamsun* 'sun', بئر *birun* 'well', دار *dārun* 'dwelling', حرب *ḥarbun* 'war', as well as the names of body parts that appear in pairs, such as يد *yadun* 'hand', رجل *rijlun* 'foot', عين *aynun* 'eye', أذن *uḍhnun* 'ear', and still others details about which can be found in the lexicons.

§112. a) In analogy to the words enumerated in §111, many semantically related words are optionally treated as feminines, e. g.: روح *rūhun* 'spirit', جهنم *jahīmun* 'hellfire', صلح *ṣulḥun* 'peace', the names of winds like صبا *ṣaban* 'east wind', the names of body parts like سنن *sinnun* 'tooth', the names of substances like ذهب *dhahabun* 'gold', ملح *milḥun* 'salt' or مركب *markabun* 'ship', by association with سفينة *safīnatun* 'ship', etc. For gender, usage fluctuates in such cases from period to period, occasionally from author to author, so that no consistent rule can be laid down.

b) With reference to general concepts like كلمة *kalimatun* 'word', حرف *ḥarfun* 'letter, particle', when cited in a text, words, particles, morphemes, etc., are usually feminine, less frequently masculine: ما الحجازية *mā 'l-ḥijāziyyatu* 'the ḥijāzī "mā"', الالف المقصورة (·a) *l-alifu 'l-maqṣūratu* (see §10.3).

Adjective

§113. a) As attribute and predicate, the adjective agrees in gender with the substantive it modifies. The masculine is unmarked. The feminine is indicated by *-atun* (cf. §110.1) on primary adjectives that agree in gender: *يوم بارد yawmun bāridun* 'a cold day', *ليلة باردة laylatun bāridatun* 'a cold night'. Primary adjectives can form plurals with the *-ūna* (masc.), *-ātun* (fem.) endings.

Note 1. Adjectives that specifically refer to feminine qualities, as a rule, do not take the feminine ending: *امرأة طالق (i)mra'atun ṭāliqun* 'divorced women'; nevertheless, there are rare exceptions: *مرضعة murḍi'atun*, rarely *مرضع murḍi'un* 'nursing, wet nurse'.

b) Adjectives that agree secondarily have suppletive feminine and plural morpheme patterns (§119). Adjectives that do not agree have no distinguishing feminine or plural morpheme (§121).

Note 2. Adjectives can become substantives: *خادم khādimun* 'serving' and 'servant, maid-servant', *باطل bāṭilun* 'null' and 'nothingness, prattle'. Cf. also §73.

§114. a) The ending of the inflected plural *-ūna* may refer only to masculine individuals, and *-ātun* to feminine individuals and to the names of things: *مسلمون صالحون muslimūna ṣāliḥūna* 'pious Muslims', *مسلمات muslimātun ṣāliḥātun* 'pious Muslim women', *عادات صالحات ādātun ṣāliḥātun* 'pious practices'. In analogy to "broken" plurals, the names of things are usually treated in the plural as feminine singulars: *عادات سالحة ādātun ṣāliḥatun*.

b) The plural adjective forms may function independently of the grammatical gender of the modified substantive. Thus, these adjectival forms may modify "broken" plurals and collectives *ad sensum*, even if grammatically the substantives are singulars (masc. or fem.): *رجال صالحون riḡālun ṣāliḥūna* 'pious men', *نساء صالحات nisā'un ṣāliḥātun* 'pious women', *دموع ذارفات dumū'un dhārifātun* and *دموع ذارقة dumū'un dhārifatun* 'flow-

ing tears', نخل باسقات *nakhhlun bāsiqātun* and نخل باسق *nakhhlun bāsiqun* or باسقة *bāsiqatun* 'towering datepalms' (§84 a), قوم صالحون *qawmun ṣāliḥūna* 'pious people, pious nation' (§86 a).

Note 1. With substantives that refer to people, grammatical agreement occurs infrequently : قوم صالح *qawmun ṣāliḥun*, نساء صالحة *nisārun ṣāliḥatun*.

Note 2. The "broken" plural is frequently preferred in adjectives (§122 f.) over the inflected plural.

c) Strict agreement is the rule in the dual: رجلان صالحان *rajulāni ṣāliḥāni* 'two pious men', ليلتان باردتان *laylatāni bāridatāni* 'two cold nights'.

§115. Primary adjectives that agree include: 1. Participles (§§223 f.); 2. *nisbah* adjectives (§§116 f.); 3. verbal adjectives in the morpheme categories *faʿalun*, *faʿilun* (*faʿulun*), *faʿlun* (§105.2), *fuʿlun* like: حسن *ḥasanun* 'good, handsome', صعب *ṣaʿbun* 'difficult', مر *murrūn* 'bitter'; 4. intensive adjectives in the morpheme categories *faʿʿalun*, *fiʿʿilun* like: بكاء *bakkārun* 'weepy', صديق *ṣiddīqun* 'upright'; 5. adjectives in the morpheme category *fuʿlānūn* like: عريان *ʿuryānūn* 'naked'; cf. also §119.1.

Note 1. *faʿilun* of II-weak roots is always formed with *yy* (§68 c).

Note 2. A verbal substantive in the role of adjective does not agree: عدل *ʿadlun* 'probity': شاهد عدل *shāhidun ʿadlun* 'an honest witness', حلم *ḥulumun* 'dream': ذكرة حلم *dhikratun ḥulumun* 'a dreamlike memory'.

§116. The so-called *nisbah*-ending *-iyyun* forms denominal adjectives that indicate belonging or relationship (نسبة *nisbatun*): عقل *aqlun* 'reason': عقلي *aqliyyun* 'rational', مصر *miṣru* 'Egypt': مصري *miṣriyyun* 'Egyptian', أسد *asadun* (name of a tribe): أسدي *ʿasadiyyun* 'belonging to Asad, a member of the Asad tribe'. The feminine *-iyyatun* frequently forms abstract substantives (§§73 c; 76).

Note 1. The short form *-iy-un* > *-in* (ī §155) occurs in *تهام tahāmin* from *تهامة tihāmatun* 'Tihamah' (West Arabian coastal plain), *يمان yamānin* from *اليمن (ʾa)l-Yamanu* 'Yemen', *شām shāʾāmin* from *الشām (ʾa)sh-Shaʾmu* 'Syria'. The regular *nisbah*'s *يمانييyyun* and *شامييyyun* also occur.

Note 2. *-iyy-īna* (oblique plural §147) is occasionally abbreviated to *-īna*: *أعجمين ʾaʿjamīna* from *أعجمييyyun ʾaʿjamiyyun* 'non-Arab'.

Note 3. See §§95.2 and 99.2 concerning the plural *faʾālīyu* (*faʾālī*, *faʾālā*) of the *nisbah*-ending.

Note 4. See §§86.4; 119.4 concerning *-iyyun* in the formation of terms indicating individuals.

Note 5. *Nisbah*-adjectives can also be formed from adjectives: *أعوجي ʾawajīyyun* (pedigree of horses) from *أعوج ʾawaju* 'crooked'.

Note 6. *Nisbah*-adjectives formed from plurals that signify objects serve as names of occupations: *كُتُبِيي kutubiyyun* 'book dealer' from *كُتُب kutubun* 'books' (sing. *كتاب kitābun*), *سَاعَاتِي sātīyyun* 'clock maker' from *ساعات sātātun* 'clocks' (sing. *ساعة sātun* 'hour, clock').

§117. When the *nisbah*-ending is affixed, the feminine ending *-atun* is dropped: *بَصْرِيي baṣriyyun* 'coming from Basrah' from *البصرة (ʾa)l-Baṣratu*, *عَامِيي ʾāmmiyyun* 'popular' from *عامة ʾāmmatun* 'common people'. On the other hand, it is added to *-ā*, *-āw*: *دُنْيَا dunyā* 'this world': *دُنْيَوِي dun-yawiyyun* 'earthly', *صَحْرَاء ṣaḥrāw* 'desert': *صَحْرَاوِي ṣaḥrāwiyyun* 'desert-like' (§35.3). In the same way, *w* comes between stem final *-ā* of III-weak noun forms and the *nisbah*-ending: *مَعْنَى maʿnan* 'meaning, idea': *مَعْنَوِي maʿnawiyyun* 'pertaining to meaning, conceptual'. Two-radical substantives (III-weak roots; §72 a) are treated analogically: *لُغَة luḡatun* 'language': *لُغَوِي luḡhawīyyun* 'lexic(ographic)al, linguistic, philological'.

Note 1. A post-classical *nisbah*-ending in *-āwiyyun* is added to place names with the feminine ending *-atun*: *مَكَّة Makkatun* 'Mecca': *مَكَّوِي makkāwiyyun*, instead of classical *مَكِّي makkīyyun*. On occasion, *-āniyyun* occurs instead: *صَنْعَاء Ṣanʿāw* 'Sanʿa': *صَنْعَاتِي ṣanʿāniyyun*.

Note 2. In several cases, *-ān-īyyun* replaces *-īyyun*: فوقاني *fawqāniyyun* 'upper' from فوق *fawqu* 'up' (§317), روحاني *rūḥāniyyun* 'spiritual' from روح *rūḥun* 'spirit'.

§118. When the *nisbah*-ending is affixed to the morphemes *faʿil*, *faʿīl*, they change to *faʿal*, while *fuʿayl* changes to *fuʿal*: نمر *namirun* (name of a tribe) : نامريي *namariyyun*, نبي *nabīyūn* 'prophet' : نبوي *nabawīyyun*, قريش *qurayshun* (name of a tribe) : قرشي *qurashīyyun*. There is no such change with II-geminate roots: حقيقة *ḥaqīqatun* 'reality' : حقيقي *ḥaqīqīyyun* 'real'.

Note 1. يثري *yathrabiyyun*, in addition to يثري *yathribiyyun*, are formed analogously from يثرب *Yathribu* (the former name of Medina). Note also طائي *tāriyyun* from طئي *ṭayyirun* (name of a tribe).

Note 2. Frequently there is no change in the stem in post-classical Arabic: مديني *madīniyyun* for classical مدني *madaniyyun* from المدينة (a)l-Madīnatu 'Medina'. Nevertheless, such formations are attested early: رديني *rudayniyyun* 'well-straightened spear, spear of Rudaynah'.

Note 3. *Nisbah* forms of compound names and names that belong to no particular morpheme category are shortened: حضرمي *ḥadramiyyun* from حضرموت *ḥadramawtu* 'Hadramaut' (province in South Arabia), طالبي *tālibiyyun* 'from the family of Abū Ṭālib'.

§119. Adjectives that agree secondarily are: *faʿlānu*, fem. *faʿlā*, pl. *faʿālā*, *fuʿālā* like كسلان *kaslānu* 'lazy', fem. كسلى *kaslā*, plural كسالى *kasālā*, *kusālā*, as well as adjectival *ʿafālu* that indicates colors and physical defects: *ʿafālu*, fem. *faʿlāu*, pl. *fuʿlun* (*fuʿlānun*) like أعرج *ʿaraju*, fem. عرجاء *ʿarjāu*, pl. عرج *ʿurjun* 'lame'; أبيض *abyaḍu*, fem. بيضاء *bayḍāu*, pl. بيض *biḍun* (§33 b) 'white'; آدم *ādamu* (§40), fem. أدماء *admāu*, pl. آدم *udmun*, أدمان *udmānun* 'light-colored'.

Note 1. *faʿlānu* and *ʿafālu*, *faʿlāu* are diptotically inflected (§152). Occasionally, *faʿlānun* occurs as a triptote, from which a feminine with *-atun* is formed: ندمان *nadmānu* or ندمان *nadmānun*, fem. ندمانة *nadmānatun* 'repentant'.

Note 2. Contrary to the rules of agreement (§§113 f.), *fa'lāru* may occur only for feminine singulars, but not for plurals and collectives. *fu'lun* must always be used instead: حمام ورق *hamāmun wurqun* 'ash-color doves', بيوت صفر *buyūtun şufrun* 'yellow houses'.

Note 3. کمیت *kumaytun* 'bay' (horse) and جون *jawnun* 'colorful, dark' take *fu'lun* as plural: کمت *kumtun*, جون *jūnun*.

Note 4. کدری *kudriyyun* 'Qaṭā-bird of the *kudr*-type' and جونی *jūniyyun* 'Qaṭā-bird of the *jūn*-type' occur as individual nouns of کدر *kudrun* 'drab' (sing. أکدر *akdaru*) and جون *jūnun* 'colorful' (Note 3), as they are used as the names of birds.

§120. Adjectives in the morpheme categories *fa'īlun* and *fa'ūlun* agree grammatically to a limited extent. As a basic rule, *fa'īlun* with a passive sense and *fa'ūlun* with an active sense do not agree: عین کحل *aynun kaḥīlun* 'eye darkened with kohl' (§111 d), رؤیا کذب *ruyā kadḥūbun* 'false vision'. Usage, however, is frequently at odds with the basic rule, and *fa'ūlun* is the form that usually does not agree.

Note 1. کثیر *kathīrun* 'many' and قليل *qalīlun* 'few' sometimes do not agree in the plural: رجال (نساء) کثیر *rijālun (nisārun) kathīrun* 'many men (women)'.

Note 2. An inflected plural can be formed on *fa'īlun* when it does agree: قليلون *qalīlūna* 'few'. *fa'ūlun* has only a "broken" plural, usually *fu'ulun*.

§121. Adjectives in the expanded morpheme categories *fu'alun*, *fu'ālun*, *fu'ālun*, *fa'ālun*, *fi'ālun* and *mi'ālun*, *mi'ālun*, *mi'īlun* do not agree. They do not vary as they modify masculines, feminines, and plurals: بنت ملاح *bintun mulāḥun (mullāḥun)* 'an exceptionally beautiful girl', فتاة مکسال *fatātun miksālun* 'a lady who does not need to work', نوق هجان *nūqun hijānun* 'well-bred camels (fem.)'.

Note 1. *mi'ālun*, *mi'īlun* can have *mafā'ilu* (§95) as plural. "Broken" plurals also occur for other morpheme categories: هجان *hijānun*: plural هجانن *hajāninu*.

“Broken” Plurals of Adjectives

§122. The following morpheme categories are used as plural masculines and feminines of adjectives:

fa'lā: حَقّ *ḥamiqun* ‘stupid’: هَالِك *ḥamqā*, هَالِك *hālikun* ‘perishing’: مَلِكِي *halkā*, قَتِيل *qatīlun* ‘killed’: قَتْلَى *qatlā*.

fa'ālā, *fu'ālā* (for *fa'lā*, §99): سَمَج *samjun*, سَمِجُون *samijun*, سَمِج *samijun* ‘ugly’: سَمَاجِي *samājā*, سَمَاجِي *sumājā*; cf. also §119.

fu'ulun (*fu'lun* §88): كَذُوب *kadhūbun* ‘lying’: كَذِب *kudhubun*, بَادِن *bā-dinun*, بَدِين *badīnun* ‘corpulent’: بَدَن *budunun*, *budnun*.

fi'ālun (§88): خَفِيف *khafīfun* ‘light’ (of weight): خَفَاف *khifāfun*, جَيِّد *jayyidun* ‘good’: جَيِّد *jīyādun*.

ʾ*af'ālun* (§100): حُرّ *ḥurrun* ‘free, noble’: أَهْرَار *aḥrārūn*, صَفَر *ṣifrun*, *ṣafrun*, *ṣafirun* ‘empty’: أَصْفَار *aṣfārūn*.

fu'ūlun (§88): قَاعِد *qā'idun* ‘sitting’: قُعُود *qu'ūdun*.

fu'alun, *fu'ālun* see §90.

§123. a) The morpheme categories *fu'alā'u* (of III-weak roots, *fu'alatun* §90) and ʾ*af'ilā'u* (§100) function as masculine plurals: جَبَان *jabānun* ‘cowardly, coward’: جَبَنَاء *jubanā'u*, فَقِير *faqīrūn* ‘poor, poor person’: فَقَرَاء *fuqarā'u*, كَاس *kāsin* ‘clothed’: كَسَاة *kusātun*, غَنِي *ghanīyun* ‘wealthy, wealthy person’: أَغْنِيَاء *aḡhniyā'u*.

b) *fawā'ilu* (§97) is used as a feminine plural, but also as a common plural: نِسَاء كَوَافِر *nisā'ūn kawāfiru* ‘unbelieving women’. Occasionally, *fa'ā'ilu* occurs as a feminine plural of adjectives (§§98; 121.1).

Quantity

Elative ʾ*af'alu*

§124. The morpheme category ʾ*af'alu* designates an attribute or thing as preeminent: أَكْرَم *akramu* ‘especially noble, very noble, more noble, most noble’. It functions as an elative of all nominal derivatives, whatever the

root might be: الحن *alḥanu* 'more melodious' from لحن *laḥnun* 'melody', أعقد *a'qadu* 'more knotted' from معقد *mu'aqquadun* 'knotted', أقل *aqallu* 'fewer' from قليل *qalīlun* 'few', أقصى *aqṣā* 'very far' from قصي *qaṣīyun* 'far'. Often, several derivations are possible: أكرم *akramu*. 1. 'more noble' from كريم *karīmun* 'noble'; 2. 'bestowing more honor' from مكرم *mukrimun* 'bestowing honor'.

Note 1. In II-weak roots, *w* or *y* is always consonantal: أطوع *aṭwawu* 'more obedient' from طائع *tā'irun* or مطيع *muṭīrun* 'obedient' (root *t-w-*), أخوف *akhwafu*. 1. 'more fearful' from خائف *khā'ifun* 'fearful'; 2. 'more dreaded' from مخوف *makhūfun* 'dreaded' (root *kh-w-f*), أطيّب *aṭyabu* 'better' from طيب *ṭayyibun* 'good' (root *t-y-b*).

Note 2. خير *khayrun* 'good' and شر *sharrun* 'evil, bad' also function as elatives without any change in form: 'better, best' and 'worse, worst'. Only in post-classical Arabic do أخير *akhīyaru*, أشتر *aṣharu* occasionally occur as elatives.

Note 3. Adjectival *af'alu* (§119) is not used in classical Arabic as an elative. Paraphrases, like أشدّ بياضا *aṣhaddu bayāḍan* 'even whiter' (Note 4), are used instead. The comparative use (§125) occurs not infrequently in post-classical Arabic: أبيض من *abyaḍu min* 'whiter, brighter than ...'.

Note 4. In combination with the indefinite accusative (§384), elatives are used in a general sense to paraphrase an otherwise ambiguous elative: أسرع عدوا *asra'u adwan* 'swifter in running' rather than أعدى *a'dā*, to distinguish it from أعدى *a'dā* 'more hostile' from عدوّ *adūwun* 'enemy'.

§125. a) The elative is inflected as a diptote (§152). As a rule, it may not take the article (exception §127) and does not, therefore, agree grammatically with the substantive that it modifies. Besides indicating a quality of preeminence, the elative also functions as a comparative. When followed by the genitive (§126), it expresses the superlative.

b) To express the comparative, the elative is paired with من *min* (§299 d) ('than'): أطول من نخلة *aṭwalu min nakhlatin* 'taller than a date-palm', (أ) الناقة أسمن من ناقتنا *(a)n-nāqatu 'asmanu min nāqatinā* 'that camel (fem.) is fatter than ours'. The comparative usage can also be determined

by context: أعطيناهم درهما أو أكثر *aṭaynāhum dirhaman 'aw 'akthara* 'we gave them one dirham or more', أتي المالين أقر لعينك *'ayyu 'l-mālayni 'aqarru li-'aynika* 'which of these two possessions gives you more pleasure?'.
 Note 1. In a comparative sentence, the subject of the contrasted phrase follows and is dependent on من *min*, if it is a nominal phrase: أنا لك أشرف منك *anā laka 'ashrafu minka lī* 'I am more respectful of you than you are of me'. A verbal phrase begins with subordinating ما *mā* (§416): كنت أخوف عليك مما كنت على نفسي *kuntu 'akhwafa 'alayka mimma* (§45) *kuntu 'alā nafsī* 'I was more fearful for you than I was for myself'.

c) The elative without the article and with or without *min* can appear in all positions in which an indefinite noun can occur, i.e., especially as predicate or in apposition to an indefinite governing form (*regens*): الله أكبر *al-lāhu 'akbaru* 'God is (incomparably) great', لستم بأكذب *lastum bi-'akdhaba* 'you are no more deceitful (than anyone else)', ما لقيت ناسا أقبح منهم *mā laqītu nāsan 'aqbaḥa minhum* 'Never have I met worse people than them'. The elative also occurs as an object: يعلم السر وأخفى *fa-'innahū ya'lamu 's-sirra wa-'akhfā* (Koran 20:7) 'for He knows all that is secret (in man) and what is more deeply hidden'.

§126. The elative has the superlative meaning when followed by the genitive:

a) When the genitive is indefinite (§387), the superlative has an absolute sense: أفضل رجل *'afḍalu rajulin* 'the most excellent man (there is)', أعلى جبال *'alā jibālīn* 'the highest (known) mountains'. Often, a restrictive complement follows: كنت أحدث رجل فيهم *kuntu 'ahdatha rajulin fihim* 'I was the youngest man among them'.

Note 1. Note expressions with the elative such as: كان أشد شيء عليه *kāna 'ashadda shay'in 'alayhi* 'he was extremely violent against him', يكتب أقل *yaktubu 'aqalla mā yakūnu* 'he writes as little as possible', أقبح ما يكون الصدق في السعاية *'aqbaḥu mā yakūnu 's-ṣidqu fī 's-si'āyati* 'sincerity is worst in slander' (*fī 's-si'āyati* is the predicate!).

'The more . . . the more' is expressed by using this phrase two times: أخوف ما تكون العامة أمن ما تكون الوزراء *akhwafu mā takūnu 'l-āmmatu ā-manu mā takūnu 'l-wuzarā'u* 'the more fearful are the people, the more sure are the viziers' (cf. also §463).

b) In the same way, the elative has a superlative meaning with the (always definite) partitive genitive (§387 b). It is always substantivized: بأعلى صوت *bi-awlā ṣawtihi* 'with his loudest voice', أعلى الجبال *awlā 'l-jibālī* 'the highest of the mountains'.

Note 2. خير *khayrun* and شر *sharrun* (§124.2) are treated like elatives that do not agree grammatically: في خير دار *fī khayri dārin* 'in the best home', أنتم خير العرب *antum khayru 'l-arabi* 'you are the best of the Arabs'.

§127. a) With the article, the definite elative (*awlā*) is used for the masculine singular. As its feminine counterpart, the suppletive form *fu'lā* is used. *awlā* or *afā'ilu* (§94) is used for the masculine plural. *fu'layātun* or *fu'alu* is used for the feminine plural. In this form, the elative is used as a substantive or adjective modifying a definite substantive: الأصغر (*awlā*) *aṣgharu* 'the younger, the youngest', الصغرى (*awlā*) *ṣ-ṣuḡhrā* 'the younger, the youngest (fem.)', الأكبر (*awlā*) *l-akābiru* 'the oldest ones', بصوته الأعلى *bi-ṣawtihi 'l-awlā* 'with his loudest voice', الدرجات العليا (*awlā*) *d-darajātu 'l-ulyā* 'the upper (highest) steps'.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, *fu'lā* also appears with indefinite substantives: درجة عليا *darajatun 'ulyā* 'a higher (highest) step'.

b) The suppletive forms *fu'lā* and *fu'alu* also occur with أول *awwalu* 'first' and آخر *ākharu* (< **akharu*) 'other': fem. sing. أولى *awlā*, أخرى *ukhrā*, masc. pl. أولون *awwalūna*, آخرون *ākharūna* and أوائل *awwā'ilu*, fem. pl. أول *awwalu*, أخر *ukharu* and أخريات *ukhrayātun*. أول *awwalu*, as an elative that does not agree grammatically, also appears in constructions with the genitive: أول كتاب *awwalu kitābin* 'the first book', أول الأمر *awwalu 'l-amri* 'the beginning of the matter', أول امرأة *awwalu 'mr'atin* or المرأة الأولى *al-mar'atu 'l-awlā* 'the first woman'.

Note 2. The construction of آخر *ākhirun* follows that of أول *awwalu*. It can occur in combination with a following indefinite genitive: آخر يوم *ākhiru yawmin* 'the last (possible) day', as opposed to اليوم الآخر *l-yawmu 'l-ākhiru* 'the last day (of a series of days)', آخر مرة *ākhirā mar-ratin* 'for the last time' (§315 b), آخر الليل *ākhiru 'l-layli* 'the end of the night'.

Formulas of Astonishment *mā 'af'ala*

§128. In combination with *mā* 'what', *'af'ala* forms the so-called formula of astonishment. The subject follows in the accusative or as a pronominal suffix: ما أكرم الأمير *mā 'akrama 'l-amīra* 'how noble is the prince!', ما أبغضك إلي *mā 'abghaḍaka 'ilayya* 'how loathsome are you to me!', ما أعلمني *mā 'a'lamānī* 'how well do I know that!'. Indeclinable *kāna* coming before *'af'ala* indicates the preterite (§190): ما كان أصبره *mā kāna 'aṣbarahū* 'how patient was he!'.

Note 1. Infrequently, and only in poetry, the formula occurs without the following accusative: ما أكرم *mā 'akrama* 'how noble!'.

Note 2. The formula *'af'il bi-* has the same meaning: أهون به *'ahwīn bihī* 'how disdainful is he!'. Often it appears with the accusative of specificity (§384) or with *min* (§299 c): أكرم بها فتاة *'akrim bihā fatātan* or فتاة من *fatātīn* 'what a noble woman is she!'.

Numerals

§129. a) The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 are:

For masculine

1 واحد *wāhidun*

2 اثنان *(i)thnāni*

3 ثلاثة *thalāthātun*

4 أربعة *'arba'atun*

5 خمسة *khamṣatun*

6 ستة *sittatun*

7 سبعة *sab'atun*

8 ثمانية *thamāniyatun*

9 تسعة *tis'atun*

10 عشرة *'aṣharatun*

For feminine

واحدة *wāhidatun*

اثنتان *(i)thnatāni*, ثنتان *thintāni* (§64.1)

ثلاث *thalāthun*

أربع *'arba'un*

خمس *khamṣun*

ست *sittun*

سبع *sab'un*

ثمان *thamānin* (§155)

تسع *tis'un*

عشر *'aṣhrun*

Note 1. *wāḥidun* is an adjective: قرية واحدة *qaryatun wāḥidatun* 'a single village' (§141 b). When used as a substantive, 'one' is أحد *aḥadun*, fem. إحدى *iḥdā*: أحدهم *aḥaduhum* 'one of them'. Cf. also §131.1.

Note 2. (i) *ṭhnāni* has the dual inflection (§147). It can appear with the dual for emphasis: قرستان اثنتان *qaryatāni ṭhnatāni* 'two villages'.

b) The numbers 3–10 have forms with *-atun* in combination with masculine counted substantives, the basic form with feminines. This also holds true when the counted is unnamed: هؤلاء الثلاثة *hāṭulāri ṭh-ṭhalāṭhatu* 'these three (men)', مضت أربع *maḍat arbaʿun* 'four (nights) passed'. The substantive follows the numeral in the genitive plural: سبع سارقات *sabʿu sāriqātīn* 'seven thieves (fem.)'. With "broken" plurals, the gender of the singular governs: رجال خمسة *kḥamsatu rijālīn* 'five men', خمس نساء *kḥamsu nisāʾīn* 'five women'. A personal pronoun suffix may appear instead of a substantive: ثلاثهم *ṭhalāṭhatuhum* 'the three of them'. The numbers can follow as attributives: رجال ثمانية *rijālun ṭhamāniyatun* 'eight men', النساء الثماني *(a)n-nisāʾu ṭh-ṭhamānī* 'the eight women'. On the agreement in such constructions, see §§354; 399.

Note 3. Collectives can occur in the genitive singular: عشرة رهط *aṣḥaratu raḥṭīn* 'ten persons'.

Note 4. To make numerical expressions definite, the article is placed either before the substantive, before the number, or even before both: تسعة الكتب *tisʿatu l-kutubī*, or التسعة كتب *(a)t-tisʿatu kutubīn*, or التسعة الكتب *(a)t-tisʿatu l-kutubī* 'the nine books'.

Note 5. Forms of the numerals ending in *-atun* are used to express abstract numbers and, like proper names, are inflected diptotically (§152): ستة أكثر من خمسة *sittatu akṭharu min kḥamsata* 'six is more than five'.

Note 6. Similarly, بضع *biḍʿun* 'several' occurs with the genitive: بضع رجال *biḍʿu rijālīn (nisāʾīn)* 'several men (women)'. See also §130.2.

§130. a) The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are:

For masculine

For feminine

11	أحد عشر <i>aḥada 'ashara</i>	إحدى عشرة <i>iḥdā 'ashrata</i>
12	اثنا عشر <i>(i)thnā 'ashara</i>	اثنتا عشرة <i>(i)thnatā 'ashrata</i>
13	ثلاثة عشر <i>thalāthata 'ashara</i>	ثلاث عشرة <i>thalātha 'ashrata</i>
14	أربعة عشر <i>arba'ata 'ashara</i>	أربع عشرة <i>arba'a 'ashrata</i>
15	خمسة عشر <i>kḥamsata 'ashara</i>	خمس عشرة <i>kḥamsa 'ashrata</i>
16	سِتَّة عشر <i>sittata 'ashara</i>	ست عشرة <i>sitta 'ashrata</i>
17	سبعة عشر <i>sab'ata 'ashara</i>	سبع عشرة <i>sab'a 'ashrata</i>
18	ثمانية عشر <i>thamāniyata 'ashara</i>	ثماني عشرة <i>thamāniya 'ashrata</i>
19	تسعة عشر <i>tis'ata 'ashara</i>	تسع عشرة <i>tis'a 'ashrata</i>

Note 1. The oblique of "12" is اثني عشر *(i)thnay 'ashara*, اثنتي عشرة *(i)thnatay 'ashrata*. The rest of the numbers, 11 and 13–19, do not vary with case.

Note 2. بضع *bid'un* (§129.6) is treated analogously: بضعة عشر *bid'ata 'ashara*, بضع عشرة *bid'a 'ashrata* 'ten plus several'.

b) The counted follows the number in the indefinite accusative singular: ستة عشر رجلا *sittata 'ashara rajulan* 'sixteen men'. The article always precedes the number in this construction: السبع عشرة ليلة *(a)s-sab'a 'ashrata laylatan* 'the seventeen nights'.

§131. The plural ending *-ūna/-īna* (§101) indicates the tens: عشرون *'ishrūna* 20, ثلاثون *thalāthūna* 30, أربعون *arba'ūna* 40, خمسون *kḥamsūna* 50, ستون *sittūna* 60, سبعون *sab'ūna* 70, ثمانون *thamānūna* 80, تسعون *tis'ūna* 90. The units come before the tens, and the counted follows in the indefinite accusative singular: واحد وعشرون رجلا *wāḥidun wa 'ishrūna rajulan* 'twenty-one men', ثمان وعشرون ليلة *thamānīn wa-'ishrūna laylatan* 'twenty-eight nights'. The article precedes the units and tens: بعد التسعة والتسعين يوما *ba'da 't-tis'ati wa-'t-tis'ina yawman* 'after ninety-nine days'.

Note 1. In combination with larger numbers, "one" is always expressed by واحد *wāḥidun*. See §399 concerning agreement in numerical expressions.

§132. a) Hundreds: مائة, مئة *mī'atun* 100 (§15.4), مائتان *mī'atāni* 200, مائة *thalāthū mī'atin* 300, أربع مائة *arba'u mī'atin* 400, etc. (also written ثلاثمائة, أربعمئة, etc.). Thousands: ألف *alfun* 1,000, ألفان *alfāni* 2,000, ثلاثة آلاف *thalāthatu ālāfin* 3,000 (§100), أربعة آلاف *arba'atu ālāfin* 4,000, أحد عشر ألفا *aḥada 'ashara 'alfan* 11,000.

b) The counted follows the hundreds and the thousands in the genitive singular: ستة آلاف درهم *sittatu ālāfi dirhamin* '6,000 dirhams'. In compound numerals, the hundreds and the thousands usually, but not always, precede the lower numerals. The case and number of the counted is determined by the immediately preceding numeral: واحد ومائة رجل *wāḥidun wa-mī'atu rajulin* '101 men', وأربع سنين *alfun wa-thamānī mī'atin wa-arba'u sinīna* '1,804 years'.

Note 1. The plural forms مئات *mī'ātun*, مئون *mī'ūna* (§103 b) 'hundreds', ألوف *ulūfun* 'thousands' occur with the genitive plural: مئو سنين *mī'ū sinīna* 'hundreds of years'.

Note 2. To make these numerical expressions definite, as with the ones (§129.4), the article is placed either before the substantive, before the number, or before both: مائة ناقّة *mī'atu 'n-nāqati*, or المائة ناقّة (a) *l-mī'atu nāqatin*, or المائة الناقّة (a) *l-mī'atu 'n-nāqati* 'the hundred camels'.

§133. a) The ordinal numbers from 2–10 are in the adjectival morpheme category *fā'ilun*, fem. *fā'ilatun*: أول *awwalu*, fem. أولى *ūlā* 'first' (§127 b), ثان *thānin*, fem. ثانية *thāniyatun* 'second', ثالث *thālithun* 'third', رابع *rābi'un* 'fourth', خامس *khāmisun* 'fifth', سادس *sādisun* 'sixth', سابع *sābirun* 'seventh', ثامن *thāminun* 'eighth', تاسع *tāsi'un* 'ninth', عاشر *āshirun* 'tenth'.

b) The ordinal numbers 11–19 correspond to the cardinals inasmuch as they are indeclinable: حادي عشر *hādiya 'ashara*, fem. حادية عشرة *hā-diyata 'ashrata* 'eleventh', ثاني عشر *thāniya 'ashara*, fem. ثانية عشرة *thāniyata 'ashrata* 'twelfth', ثالث عشر *thālitha 'ashara*, fem. ثالثة عشرة *thālithata 'ashrata* 'thirteenth', etc.: الّليلة التاسعة عشرة (a) *l-laylatu 't-tāsi'ata 'ashrata* 'the nineteenth night'.

c) From 20 up, the ones are in the morpheme category *fā'ilun*, -*atun*, while the tens, hundreds, thousands have the form of the cardinal: *حاد وعشرون* *hādīn wa-īshrūna* 'twenty-first', *الثاني والخمسون* (*ʾa*)*th-thānī wa-l-khamsūna* 'the fifty-second', *الليلة الحادية والسبعون والثمانمائة* (*ʾa*)*l-laylatu 'l-hādiyatu wa-'s-sabūna wa-th-thamānī-mi'atin* 'the eight-hundred and seventy-first night'.

Note 1. As is typical of all large numbers, cardinal numbers replace the ordinal when referring to dates. In such constructions, the cardinal is in the genitive after the counted substantive: *في سنة ألف ومائتين وثلاث وستين* *fī sanati 'alfin wa-mi'atayni wa-thalāthīn wa-sittīna* 'in the year 1263'.

Note 2. The adverbial accusative of ordinal numbers (§315): *أولاً* *awwalan*, *ثانياً* *thāniyan*, *ثالثاً* *thālīthan*, etc., has the meaning 'firstly, first', 'secondly', 'thirdly', etc.

§134. Fractions have the morpheme category *fu'lun* (*fu'ulun*), pl. *'afālun*: *ثلث* *thulthun* 'a third', *ربع* *rub'un* 'a quarter', *سدس* *sudsun* 'a sixth', *ثمان* *thumnun* 'an eighth', etc.; *ثلثان* *thulthāni* 'two-thirds', *ثلاثة أرباع* *thalāthatu 'arbā'in* 'three-quarters'.

§135. The distributive numbers have the morpheme category *fu'ālu* or *mafālu* with diptotic inflection (§152): *ثاء* *thunāru*, *مثنى* *mathnā* 'two at a time', *ثلاث* *thulāthu*, *مثلث* *mathlathu* 'three at a time', etc. 'Alone' is expressed by *وحد* *waḥda-*, always with a personal pronominal suffix, and it generally follows in apposition in the accusative: *أبوك وحده* *'abū-ka waḥdahū* 'your father alone', *بقينا وحدنا* *baqīnā waḥdanā* 'we remained alone'.

Note 1. Distributive adjectives are frequently expressed by repeating the number: *جاءوا اثنين اثنين أو ثلاثة ثلاثة* *jā'ū 'thnayni 'thnayni 'aw thalāthathan thalāthathan* 'they came two or three at a time'.

Note 2. Adjectival *fu'āliyyun* (§116) is formed from *fu'ālu*: *ثلاثي* *thulā-thiyyun* 'three-part', *رباعي* *rubā'iyyun* 'four-part, quadrilateral'.

Totality

§136. *kullun* 'each, every, all': *kullun qad dhahaba* 'everyone has left'; usually with the genitive: *kullu 'insān* 'every human', *kullu 'l-'insāni* 'the entire human being', *kullu 'n-nāsi* 'all mankind'. In emphatic apposition: *al-qawmu kullu al-qawmi* 'the one and only people'. As a permutative in apposition (§395) *kullu* often follows with a personal pronoun suffix: *al-yawmu kulluhū* 'the whole day'. See §353 for gender agreement.

Note 1. Post-classical *kullun* is occasionally a substantive: *kullun* 'a whole', *al-kullu* 'the whole' (§144.2).

Note 2. In combination with numbers, *kullun* has a distributive sense: *fī kullī sab'ati 'ayyāmin marratan* 'once every seven days'. In pre-classical Arabic, it sometimes has the meaning 'every, all, possible': *alā kullī farasin* 'on all kinds of horses'.

§137. *jam'ūn* 'totality' usually occurs in constructions with the definite genitive: *jam'ūn 'n-nāsi* 'all mankind', *jam'ūn 'amrihi* 'his entire affair'. The conditional accusative *jam'ān* 'altogether, completely' can follow in apposition: *ahlū najdin jam'ān* 'the people of the Najd, altogether', *amrunā jam'ān* 'our affair, all of us'.

Note 1. Similarly, *āmmatun* and *kāffatun* 'encompassing, totality' are used like *jam'ūn*: *āmmatu (kāffatu) 'n-nāsi* 'the totality of mankind', *al-nāsu āmmatan (kāffatan)* 'mankind in its entirety'.

§138. *ajma'u*, fem. *jam'āu*, pl. *ajma'ūna* 'entire, whole, all' occurs in apposition to substantives but never takes the article: *yawmun ajma'u* 'a whole day', *malā'ikatu kulluhum ajma'ūna* (Koran 15:30, 38:73) 'all the angels altogether'. In apposition to a personal pronominal suffix: *hadākum ajma'ina* 'he rightly guided you all'.

Note 1. The synonyms of *ajma'u*, *akta'u*, *abta'u*, *abṣa'u* are treated similarly. Occasionally, they appear with *ajma'u* for emphasis.

Note 2. In combination with the preposition *bi-* (§294.8) and with a personal pronominal suffix, *ʾajmaʿu* may follow in apposition: النَّاسُ بِأَجْمَعِهِم (*ʾa*)*n-nāsu bi-ʾajmaʿihim* 'mankind in its entirety'. Expressions like بِجَمْعِهِم *bi-jamʿihim*, بِأَسْرِهِم *bi-ʾasrihim*, and others (§394.8) also occur in this type of construction.

§139. *baʿḍun* ('part') with the definite genitive indicates a part or any number of something: *baʿḍu l-kāfirīna* 'one of the unbelievers' or 'some unbelievers', *baʿḍu mālihi* 'some (part) of his wealth' (§146 b), *baʿḍu l-ʾadhābi* 'some' or 'a certain kind of suffering'. Often *baʿḍun* is used to show reciprocity. In this paired construction, the first member has the personal pronominal suffix, while the second is always indefinite: رَاقِبَ بَعْضُنَا *rāqaba baʿḍunā baʿḍan* 'some of us watched the others', or 'we watched each other', رَفَعْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ *rafaʿnā baʿḍahum fauqa baʿḍin* (Koran 43:32) 'we raised some of them above the others'.

Note 1. Note expressions like: *baʿḍa l-lawmi* 'only some blame!', i.e., 'do not blame so much!'.

Nominal Inflection

§140. All nouns have three case-forms that express syntactic relationships: nominative (§§352; 362 f.), genitive (§385 ff.), accusative (§372 ff.). In the dual and plural, the genitive and accusative are formally indistinguishable (oblique case). There are three different states: the indefinite (or indetermined), the definite (or determined), and the construct. In the singular, the definite and construct states, with a few exceptions (§150), are identical. In the dual and plural, they are morphologically distinguished.

§141. Indefinite state: a) The indefinite state indicates something unspecified introduced into the context. It is marked by *-n* (*tanwīn* §11 f.) in triptotic inflection and is unmarked in diptotic inflection.: رَجُلٌ *rajulun* 'a man', فَوَارسُ *fawārisu* '(any, some) horsemen'.

Note 1. Personal names that are inflected as triptotes lose the sign of indefiniteness (*-n*) in genealogical citations before *بن* (*ʾi*)*bnu* (§22 b) 'son of ...': مَالِكُ بْنُ سَعْدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ *māliku bnu saʿdi bni muḥammadin* (but not *Mālikun, Saʿdin*).

Note 2. Expressions of time that specify the future are usually indefinite: غدا *ghadan* 'tomorrow', بعد غد *ba'da ghadin* 'the day after tomorrow', قَابِلًا *qābīlan* 'next year'.

Note 3. In poetry, the indefinite state occurs not infrequently where one would expect the definite: أَعَزِّيْ عَنْكَ قَلْبًا مُسْتَهَامًا *ʿazzī ʿanka qalban mus-tahāman* 'I console over you a (i. e., my) love-sick heart', كَمَا ذَرَّ *kama dharr* *kulla-mā dharra shāriqun* 'whenever a (i.e., the) rising sun flares up'.

Note 4. Explicit indefiniteness is often indicated by مَا *mā* (§285 c) following a noun: أَمْرًا *amrun mā* 'a certain affair', إِلَى يَوْمٍ *ilā yawmin* or إِلَى يَوْمٍ مَا *ilā yawmin mā* 'until some day'.

b) The indefinite state also indicates numerical singularity: كَلِّمَهُمْ لَأُمٍّ *kulluhum li-ummin* 'all of them come from one and the same mother', يَقْدِرُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ رَجُلٌ *yaqdiru ʿalā dhālika rajulun* 'one man is capable of this', يَوْمًا *yawman* 'one day long'. In this case, وَاحِدٌ *wāhidun* (§129) can be added for clarity: وَاحِدَةً *li-ummin wāhidatin*.

c) The indefinite state often simply indicates the genus, namely, in the predicate (§363 a), with accusatives (§384), with genitives (§387 a), and in combination with مِنْ *min* (§299 a): كَمْ دِرْهَمًا *kam dirhaman* 'how many dirhams', حَبْدًا أَنْتَ مِنْ رَجُلٍ *habbadhā ʿanta min rajulin* 'what a likeable man you are!' (§263).

§142. Definite state: a) The definite state in the singular triptotic inflection does not have -n. The definite state occurs when a nominal form is marked definite by the article, أَلْ *al-*, by the vocative after يَا *yā* (§157 a), and by general negation after لَا *lā* (§318 c).

b) The article is (ʾa)l- (§§21; 22 a; 54): أَلْكِتَابُ *(ʾa)l-kitābu* 'the book', هَذَا الْكِتَابُ *hādhā 'l-kitābu* 'this book' (§§274 ff.), بِالْكِتَابِ *bi-'l-kitābi* 'with the book'. See §§18; 44 concerning the assimilation of the *l* to the following consonant.

§143. The definiteness indicated by the article is occasioned by the context, by the situation at hand, or by generally understood conditions.

a) When context expresses definiteness, the article often appears in place of the personal pronoun suffix, which otherwise would express definiteness: أتيت بيت الوزير فخرج الخادم إليّ *ataytu bayta 'l-wazīri fa-kharaja 'l-khādīmu ilayya* 'I came to the vizier's house, and out came the (i.e., his) servant toward me'. Frequently, if no defining agent is specified, definiteness has a distributive meaning: جاء الرجل بعد الرجل *jā'a 'r-rajulu ba'da 'r-rajuli* 'they came one after the other', إن الرجل يأكل في المجلس الواحد ما لا *innā 'r-rajula ya'kulu fī 'l-majlisi 'l-wāḥidi mā lā ta'kulu 'l-mar'atu* 'the man eats at a single sitting an amount the woman cannot', الرجل من *r-rajulu min-a 'l-muslimīna* 'every single one of the Muslims'.

b) Definiteness expressed by the situation occurs in cases like: من الرجل *man-i 'r-rajulu* 'who is the man?', i.e., 'you there, who are you?' (in direct discourse), اليوم *l-yawmu* 'the present day', إلى الساعة *ilā 's-sā'ati* 'until now'.

c) Nouns that refer to the generic, abstract, substance, etc., are definite if they are thought of as unique in kind: مثله كمثل الكلب *mathaluhū ka-mathali 'l-kalbi* 'with him it is like it is with the dog', من الكبر *min-a 'l-kibari* 'out of arrogance'.

Note 1. Uniqueness defines words like الشمس *(a)sh-shamsu* 'the sun', الخليفة *(a)l-khalīfatu* 'the Caliph' and all proper names, even if they appear formally in the indefinite state: محمد *Muḥammadun* (Muhammad), رجب *Rajabun* 'the month of Rajab'.

§144. The article transforms nouns that refer to individuals into generic nouns by defining them in a generic sense: خلق الانسان ضعيفا *khuliqa 'l-insānu ḍa'ifan* (Koran 4:28) 'man was created weak', العلماء *(a)l-ulamā'u* 'scholars'.

Note 1. When expressing quantity, this general kind of definiteness indicates individual parts: الكثير منهم *(a)l-kathīru minhum* 'the majority of them', العدد القليل منه *(a)l-ʿadadu 'l-qalīlu minhu* 'a small number of it'. لم نزد على المائة *lam nazid ʿalā 'l-mi'ati* 'we did not exceed (the number) 100'.

Note 2. Non-substantive nominal forms (§§113–139) are made substantives by the the definite article or the lack of it: *جاهل jāhilun*, *الجاهل (ʾa)l-jāhilu* 'an ignorant person, the ignorant'.

Note 3. Concerning the definiteness of predicate nouns, see §363 b.

§145. Construct state: a) Words in the singular construct state are identical to those in the definite state. In the plural, *-na*, and in the dual, *-ni*, are dropped. A word in the construct state is followed immediately by a dependent substantive in the genitive or by a personal pronoun suffix: *مال تاجر mālu tājirin* 'the wealth of a merchant', *ماله māluhū* 'his wealth', *جنتا سبا jannatā Sabarīn* 'both gardens of Sheba', *جنتاهم jannatāhum* 'both of their gardens'.

b) Anything else qualifying the word in the construct state must come after the genitive or pronominal suffix: *سيف الفارس البتار sayfu 'l-fārisi 'l-battāru* 'the sharp sword of the horseman', *ربك الأكرم rabbuka 'l-akramu* 'your incomparably noble lord'.

Note 1. Once in a while, interjections and the like come between the word in the construct state and the genitive: *حر والله الظهيرة ḥarru wa-'l-lāhi 'z-zahīrati* 'the heat — by God! — of mid-day'. See also §285 c.

c) If there are two substantives in the construct state but one dependent genitive, the genitive must be represented by a personal pronoun suffix on the second member of the construct: *سيوف الأعداء وأرماهم suyūfu 'l-a'dā'i wa-armāḥūhum* 'the swords and spears of the enemies', *قصير القامة نحيفها qaṣīru 'l-qāmati naḥīfuhā* 'short and thin in stature' (§388).

Note 2. Contrary to this rule, genitives may with increasing frequency depend on two substantives in post-classical Arabic: *طرق وأراضي تلك البلدان ṭuruqu wa-arādī tilka 'l-buldāni* 'the roads and lands of those countries'.

§146. a) By itself, the construct state is neither definite nor indefinite. A definite genitive or a personal pronoun suffix makes the construction definite. If the genitive is indefinite, the construction is indefinite: *كلب دار نابع kalbu dārīn nābiḥun* 'a barking dog of a dwelling', *كلب الدار kalbu 'd-dāri 'n-nābiḥu* 'the barking dog of the dwelling'.

Note 1. The indefinite state is combined with a dependent genitive by *li-* (§295 b). If the sense is partitive, it is combined with the dependent genitive by *min* (§299.1): كلب لدارهم *kalbun li-dārihim* 'a dog belonging to their dwelling', كلب من كلابهم *kalbun min kilābihim* 'one of their dogs' = أحد كلابهم *aḥadu kilābihim* (§129.1) or بعض كلابهم *baʿdu kilābihim* 'one of their dogs' (§139).

b) The construct state of words like أحد *aḥadun* (§129.1), بعض *baʿḍun* (§139) or of words indicating comparison like مثل *mithlun* 'one like ... , something like ...' (§297 c), غير *ghayru-* 'other than' (§325), نظير *naẓīrun*, شبه *shibhun* 'similar to', and the like are considered indefinite, even when combined with a definite genitive or a personal pronoun suffix: فتي مثلي *fatan mithlī* 'a youth like me', رجال غيركم *rijālun ghayrukum* 'men other than you'.

c) The construct state of adjectives and participles is not made definite by the definite specifying genitive (§388) or the genitive expressing an object (§386 b): رجل كريم النسب *rajulun karīmu 'n-nasabi* 'a man of noble lineage', ضارب أخيه *dāribu 'akhīhi* = ضارب أخاه *dāribun 'akhāhu* 'one who strikes his brother'. The adjective can be made definite by the article: الرجل الكريم النسب *(ʾa)r-rajulu 'l-karīmu 'n-nasabi*. In such constructions, making the participle definite is avoided, but it occasionally occurs: التابعي *(ʾa)t-tābīʿī* 'he who follows me', الضاربو أولادهم *(ʾa)d-dāribū 'awlādihim* 'those who strike their children'.

Note 2. The perfective participle (§201) is considered a substantive in the construct state and is made definite by the genitive: قاتل أخي *qātilu 'akhī* 'the one who killed my brother, my brother's murderer'.

Note 3. Cases like *karīmu 'n-nasabi*, *(ʾa)l-karīmu 'n-nasabi* are called "the improper annexation" *الاضافة غير الحقيقية* *al-idāfah ghayr al-ḥaqīqiyyah* by the Arab grammarians, because the genitive can be joined with a substantive in the definite state.

Triptotic Inflection

§147. Indefinite state: سارق *sāriqun* 'thief', سارقة *sāriqatun* (fem.).

Sg.	nom. masc.	سارق	<i>sāriq-un</i>	fem.	سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-un</i>
	gen.	سارق	<i>sāriq-in</i>		سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-in</i>
	acc.	سارقا	<i>sāriq-an</i>		سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-an</i>
Du.	nom.	سارقان	<i>sāriq-āni</i>		سارقتان	<i>sāriq-at-āni</i>
	obl.	سارقين	<i>sāriq-ayni</i>		سارقتين	<i>sāriq-at-ayni</i>
Pl.	nom.	سارقون	<i>sāriq-ūna</i>		سارقات	<i>sāriq-āt-un</i>
	obl.	سارقين	<i>sāriq-īna</i>		سارقات	<i>sāriq-āt-in</i>

Note 1. On the orthography of the endings, see §§11 and 13.

Note 2. On the formation of the plural, see §§101 ff.; for the dual, see §§107ff.

§148. Definite state

Sg.	nom.	السارق (a)s-sāriq-u	fem.	السارقة (a)s-sāriq-at-u
	gen.	السارق (a)s-sāriq-i		السارقة (a)s-sāriq-at-i
	acc.	السارق (a)s-sāriq-a		السارقة (a)s-sāriq-at-a
Du.	nom.	السارقان (a)s-sāriq-āni		السارقتان (a)s-sāriq-at-āni
	obl.	السارقين (a)s-sāriq-ayni		السارقتين (a)s-sāriq-at-ayni
Pl.	nom.	السارقون (a)s-sāriq-ūna		السارقات (a)s-sāriq-āt-u
	obl.	السارقين (a)s-sāriq-īna		السارقات (a)s-sāriq-āt-i

§149. Construct state

Sg.	nom.	سارق	<i>sāriq-u</i>	fem.	سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-u</i>
	gen.	سارق	<i>sāriq-i</i>		سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-i</i>
	acc.	سارق	<i>sāriq-a</i>		سارقة	<i>sāriq-at-a</i>
Du.	nom.	سارقا	<i>sāriq-ā</i>		سارقتا	<i>sāriq-at-ā</i>
	obl.	سارقي	<i>sāriq-ay</i>		سارقتي	<i>sāriq-at-ay</i>
Pl.	nom.	سارقو	<i>sāriq-ū</i>		سارقات	<i>sāriq-āt-u</i>
	obl.	سارقي	<i>sāriq-ī</i>		سارقات	<i>sāriq-āt-i</i>

Note 1. On the attachment of personal pronominal suffixes to the construct state, see §269.

§150. أب *ʾabun* 'father' (definite الأب *(ʾa)l-ʾabu*), أخ *ʾakhun* 'brother' (definite الأخ *(ʾa)l-ʾakhu*), حم *hamun* (definite الحم *(ʾa)l-hamu*), 'father-in-law' (§72 b) have alternative forms in the construct state (as also the words that exist only in the construct state, فو *fū* 'mouth' (§72 a) and ذو *dhū* (§283)):

Nom.	أبو <i>ʾabū</i>	أخو <i>ʾakhū</i>	حمو <i>hamū</i>	فو <i>fū</i>	ذو <i>dhū</i>
Gen.	أبي <i>ʾabī</i>	أخي <i>ʾakhī</i>	حمي <i>hamī</i>	في <i>fī</i>	ذي <i>dhī</i>
Acc.	أبًا <i>ʾabā</i>	أخًا <i>ʾakhā</i>	حمًا <i>hamā</i>	فًا <i>fā</i>	ذًا <i>dhā</i>

Note 1. On the attachment of the personal pronoun suffixes, see §269.3.

Note 2. Dual: أبوان *ʾabawāni* (§108 a), أخوان *ʾakhawāni*.

§151. In إمرؤ *(ʾi)mrwun* 'man' (§72 e) and the infrequently occurring ابنم *(ʾi)bnumun* 'son' (§37 b), the vowel of the stem assimilates to the vowel of inflectional ending:

Nom.	إمرؤ <i>(ʾi)mrwun</i>	ابنم <i>(ʾi)bnumun</i>
Gen.	إمرئ <i>(ʾi)mrvin</i>	ابنم <i>(ʾi)bnimin</i>
Acc.	إمرء <i>(ʾi)mraʾan</i>	ابنما <i>(ʾi)bnaman</i>

(ʾi)mrwun in the definite state with the article is المرء *(ʾa)l-marʾu*, in the construct state امرؤ *(ʾi)mrwu*.

Note 1. Occasionally, uninflected forms of words and expressions that are semantically identified with non-standard language enter classical Arabic poetic texts, e.g., حر *hir* for *hirun* 'vulva', هن *han* for *hanun* with the same meaning as *hir* (§72).

Diptotic Inflection

§152. Diptotically inflected nominal forms do not have the sign of indefiniteness *-n* in the indefinite state, and the genitive has *-a* instead of *-i*. When such words form duals and inflected plurals, they do not differ from triptotes.

Sg. nom.	أسود <i>ʾaswadu</i> 'black'	الأسود <i>(ʾa)l-aswadu</i>
gen.	أسود <i>ʾaswada</i>	الأسود <i>(ʾa)l-aswadi</i>
acc.	أسود <i>ʾaswada</i>	الأسود <i>(ʾa)l-aswada</i>

Diptotes in the definite and construct states are inflected like triptotic nominal forms.

§153. The following groups of nominal forms have the diptotic inflection in the indefinite state:

a) Nominal forms in morpheme category *ʾafʾalu* (§§119; 124; 138), *fuʾalu* (§127), *faʾlānu* (§119), *fuʾālu*, and *mafʾalu* (§135).

b) Morpheme categories with the feminine ending *-ā* (§64 c) like *faʾlāu* (§§75 b; 119; 138), *fiʿliyāu*, *fuʾalāu*, *fāʾūlāu* (§§75 b; 90), and *ʾafʾilāu* (§100).

Note 1. The indeclinable feminine ending *-ā* (§64 b) is also diptotic. It does not take the sign of indefiniteness *-n*. See §100.2 on the diptotic plural *ʾashyāu* of *shayʾun* 'thing'.

c) Plural morpheme categories *faʾālilu*, *faʾālilu*, etc. (§93 ff.).

d) If they consist of more than three consonants, all proper names that have the feminine ending *-at-* or are of foreign origin, like دمشق *Dimashqu*, 'Damascus', زينب *Zaynabu* (fem. personal name), مكة *Makkatu* 'Mecca', طلحة *Talḥatu* (masc. personal name), أهواز *Ahwāzu* (place name).

e) All proper names that are feminine in meaning, like مصر *Miṣru* 'Egypt', حلب *Halabu* 'Aleppo', هند *Hindu* (fem. personal name).

f) Masculine personal names, if they do not belong to morpheme categories *faʾlun*, *fiʾlun*, *fuʾlun*, *faʾalun*, *faʾilun* or are not participles (§§223 f.). Compare عمر *ʿUmaru* 'Omar', عثمان *ʿUthmānu* 'Uthman', يوسف *Yūsufu* 'Joseph' to عمرو *ʿAmrun* (§11.1), نوح *Nūḥun* 'Noah', محمد *Muḥammadun* 'Muhammad'.

Note 2. Proper names with diminutive forms *fuʾaylun* and *fuʾayyilun* (§§81 f.) are inflected as triptotes: زهير *Zuhayrun*, كثير *Kuthayyirun*. The diminutive is diptotic, however, if it has the feminine ending *-at-*: فطيمة *Fuṭaymatu*.

Note 3. All diptotic nominal forms can be treated as triptotes in poetry. The opposite also occurs sometimes in poetry (though much more rarely).

Inflection of III- and IV-Weak Nominal Forms

§154. a) Nominal forms ending in stem-final \bar{a} are indeclinable in the singular (§34 b). When the sign of indefiniteness $-n$ is affixed, $\bar{a}-n$ is abbreviated $> -an$ (§52); $\bar{a}-atun$ is shortened to $\bar{a}tun$. When the dual and plural endings are affixed, the phonological rules in §35 a are observed.

Sg. masc.	ملقى	<i>mulqan</i> 'thrown'	fem.	ملقاة	<i>mulqātun</i> (gen. $-in$, acc. $-an$)
		(§256 c)			
Du. nom.	ملقيان	<i>mulqayāni</i>		ملقاتان	<i>mulqātāni</i>
obl.	ملقيين	<i>mulqayayni</i>		ملقاتين	<i>mulqātayni</i>
Pl. nom.	ملقون	<i>mulqawna</i>		ملقيات	<i>mulqayātun</i>
obl.	ملقين	<i>mulqayna</i>		ملقيات	<i>mulqayātin</i>

b) The definite and construct states are formed according to the rules mentioned above (§§142 ff.): Definite الملقى (\bar{a}) $l\text{-}mulqā$, plural nominative الملقون (\bar{a}) $l\text{-}mulqawna$, feminine الملقاة (\bar{a}) $l\text{-}mulqātu$, etc.; construct state ملقى *mulqā*, plural nominative ملقو *mulqaw*, oblique ملقي *mulqay*, dual nominative ملقيا *mulqayā*, oblique ملقيي *mulqayay*, feminine ملقاة *mulqātu*, etc.

Note 1. See §10 on the orthography.

Note 2. As they do in the definite and construct states, diptotes in the indefinite state have indeclinable stem-final \bar{a} in the singular: أعلى $\bar{a}lā$ 'highest' = $\bar{a}f\bar{a}lu/a$ of root $\bar{a}l-w$, الأعلى (\bar{a}) $l\text{-}\bar{a}lā$ 'the highest' = (\bar{a}) $l\text{-}\bar{a}f\bar{a}lu/i/a$.

Note 3. The feminine ending \bar{a} (§64 b) is treated like diptotic stem-final \bar{a} : حبلئى *ḥublā* 'pregnant', plural حبلئات *ḥublayātun*, dual حبلئان *ḥublayāni* (§35 b).

§155. a) Nominal forms with stem-final \bar{i} have the ending \bar{i} (= $\bar{i}yu$, $\bar{i}yi$ §34 b) in the nominative and genitive. In the accusative, it is $\bar{i}ya$. When the sign of indefiniteness $-n$ is affixed, $\bar{i}-n$ is shortened to $-in$ (§52). When the dual and plural endings are affixed, the rules in §35 a are followed. There are no peculiarities with the feminine ending in $\bar{i}y\text{-}atun$.

Sg.	nom.	داع	<i>dā'in</i> 'calling' (§256 a)	الدّاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'ī</i>
	gen.	داع	<i>dā'in</i>	الدّاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'ī</i>
	acc.	داعيا	<i>dā'īyan</i>	الدّاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'īya</i>
Du.	nom.	داعيان	<i>dā'iyāni</i>	الدّاعيان	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'iyāni</i>
	obl.	داعيين	<i>dā'iyayni</i>	الدّاعيين	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'iyayni</i>
Pl.	nom.	داعون	<i>dā'ūna</i>	الدّاعون	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'ūna</i>
	obl.	داعين	<i>dā'īna</i>	الدّاعين	(<i>a</i>) <i>d-dā'īna</i>

b) The construct state resembles the forms in §149: داعي *dā'ī*, accusative داعي *dā'īya*, dual داعيا *dā'iyā*, داعي *dā'iyay*, plural داعو *dā'ū*, داعي *dā'ī*.

Note 1. The short form of the *nisbah*-ending *-iy* is treated like stem-final *-ī*: يمان *yamānin* 'Yemenite', accusative يمانيا *yamāniyan*, etc. (§116.1).

§156. Diptotic nominal forms with stem-final *ī* are distinctive in that they take the sign of indefiniteness *-n* in the nominative and genitive of the indefinite state: أفاع *afā'in* 'vipers', plural of أفعى *afan* (§94).

Sg.	nom.	أفاع	<i>afā'in</i>	الأفاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>l-afā'ī</i>
	gen.	أفاع	<i>afā'in</i>	الأفاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>l-afā'ī</i>
	acc.	أفاعي	<i>afā'īya</i>	الأفاعي	(<i>a</i>) <i>l-afā'īya</i>

Vocative

§157. a) In vocative expressions, such as appeals or exhortations, the substantive is in the definite state, as a rule introduced by the particle يا *yā* or أيتها (يا) *(yā) ayyuhā*. The definite state follows *yā* without the article, *ayyuhā* with the article (*a*) *l-*: يا غلام *yā ghulāmu* 'O lad!', يا فتى *yā fatā* 'O young man!', يا أيتها الأمير *yā ayyuhā 'l-amīru* 'O prince!'.
 Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, أيتها *ayyatuhā* occurs occasionally along with *ayyuhā* with feminine substantives.

b) The construct state must be in the accusative in vocative expressions: يا ابن عمي *yā 'bna 'ammī* 'O son of my uncle!', يا عبد الله *yā 'Abda 'l-lāhi* 'O Abd Allah!'.
 Note 2. The vocative particle *yā* may be lacking: زيد *Zaydu* 'O Zayd!', أبا عامر *abā 'Āmirin* 'O Abū Āmir!', ربّنا *rabbanā* 'our lord!'.

Note 3. The personal pronominal suffix $-ī$ 'my' is sometimes shortened and thus not written: $يا ربَّ$ $yā rabbi$ 'O my Lord (God)!'. There are alternative forms of $أَب$ $ʾabun$ 'father', $أُم$ $ʾummun$ 'mother': $يا أبت$ $yā ʾabati$ 'O my father!', $يا أمت$ $yā ʾummati$ 'O my mother!'.

Note 4. Poetry has vocative constructions with the accusative in the indefinite state following the particles $أ$ $ʾa$, $يا$ $yā$, $أيَا$ $ʾayā$. The indefinite accusative must be followed by an additional element: $أراكبا كميّا$ $ʾa-rā-kiban kamīyan$ 'O you heroic horseman!', $يا موقدا نارا$ $yā mūqidan nāran$ 'O you who would kindle a fire!'

§158. The vocative can be marked by the ending $-ā$, $-āh$ (pausal form). $-āh$ usually occurs after the particle $وا$ $wā$: $يا عمتا (عمّاه)$ $yā ʾammā$ (' $ammāh$ ') 'O (my) uncle!', $يا عجا$ $yā ʾajabā$, $وا عجا$ $wā ʾajabāh$ 'O (what a) miracle!', $يا حسرتا$ $yā ḥasratā$ 'O pity!', $وا صباحا$ $wā ṣabāḥah$ 'O (how bad is) the morning!'.

Note 1. $-ā$ is often interpreted as an indefinite accusative $-an$ (§157.4): $يا عجا$ $yā ʾajaban$ 'O miracle!', $يا رجلا$ $yā rajulan$ 'hey, any man!'. Cf. §53.3.

Note 2. In expressions referring to family relatives, $-ā$ is often abbreviated to $-a$: $يا ابن عمّ (عمّاه)$ $yā ʾbna ʾamma$ (' $ammāh$ ') 'O (my) cousin!'. These vocatives of $أَب$, $أُم$ (§157.3) are $أبت$ $ʾabata$, $أبتاه$ $ʾabatāh$ and $أُم$ $ʾumma$, $أمت$ $ʾummata$, $أمتاه$ $ʾummatāh$.

§159. After the vocative particles $ʾa$ and $yā$, personal names and words frequently employed in exhortations are often shortened. Abbreviation ($tarkhīm$) affects the inflectional endings and the preceding consonants: $يا صاح$ $yā ṣāḥi$ (= $صاحب$ $ṣāhibu$) 'O companion!', $يا عاذل$ $yā ʾādhila$ (= $عاذلة$ $ʾādhilatu$) 'O blamer (fem.)!', $يا فاطم$ $yā fāṭima$ (= $فاطمة$ $Fāṭimatu$) 'O Fatima!', $يا عثم$ $yā ʾuthma$ (= $عثمان$ $Uṭhmanu$) 'O Uthman!'.

Verb

§160. Preliminary remarks: The Arab grammarians considered the third person singular masculine to be the simplest form of the verb, in that it embodies orthographically the stem unencumbered by any morpheme: **فعل** 'he did' from the root **فعل** $f-ʿ-l$. Therefore, it is customary for grammars

and dictionaries to present the 3rd pers. sg. masc. as the basic form of the verb. Every verb has a perfect and an imperfect primary form. These are usually distinguished from each other by the stem vowel. Since in the basic stem (§163) there is no predictable distribution of vowel classes in the perf. and imperf. base, dictionaries give the stem vowel of the imperf. base: *qatala* (u) 'kill', i.e., perf. base *qatal-a*, imperf. base *ya-qtul-u*.

Formation of the Stem

§161. Most verbs by far are three-radical (§§58 f.). A smaller number consists of four-radical verbs. The basic stem and the derived verbal stems are classified in 15 three-radical morpheme categories and 4 four-radical categories, excluding a few alternative formations (§178). In grammars and dictionaries, verbal stems are usually identified by roman numerals (I-XV), beginning with the basic stem as stem I.

§162. The derived verbal stems are formed in the following ways:

a) Doubling of the middle or final consonantal radical: three-radical verbs: *faʿala* (II), (ʾi)*fʿalla* (IX); four-radical (ʾi)*fʿal₃all₄a* (IV).

b) Vowel lengthening *a* > *ā*: in three-radical verbs: *fāʿala* (III), (ʾi)*fāʿlla* (XI) from (ʾi)*fʿalla*.

c) *aw(w)* infixed into the stem: three-radical verbs: (ʾi)*fawʿala* (XII), (ʾi)*fawwala* (XIII).

Note 1. Morpheme categories *fawʿala* and *fayʿala* are classified as in the basic stem *faʿl₃al₄a* (I) of the four-radical verb.

d) Causative prefix *ʾa-*: in three-radical verbs: *ʾafʿala* (IV).

Note 2. On vestiges of the *ha-* causative prefix, see §178 b.

e) Causative prefix *sa-*: only in combination with the *t*-infix in three-radical verbs (ʾi)*stafʿala* (X).

Note 3. Evidence of the *sa-* prefix is also found in the basic stem of three- and four-radical verbs: *sabaqa* 'leave behind' from *baqiya* 'remain', *salqā* 'throw down on the back' from *laqiya* 'meet'.

f) Reflexive prefix *ta-*: three-radical verbs: *tafa'ala* (V) from *fa'ala*, *tafā'ala* (VI) from *fā'ala*; four-radical verbs: *tafa'l₃al₄a* (II) from *fa'l₃al₄a*.

g) Reflexive infix *-t-*: three-radical verbs: (ʾi)*fta'ala* (VIII), (ʾi)*stafa'ala* (X) from **sa-fala* (§162 e).

Note 4. Pre-classical Arabic had a *t*-prefix: (ʾi)*tfa'ala* (= V), (ʾi)*tfā'ala* (= VI). See §47.

h) Reflexive-passive prefix *n-*: three-radical verbs: (ʾi)*nfa'ala* (VII).

i) Infix *-n-*: three-radical verbs: (ʾi)*f₁anlala* (XIV), (ʾi)*f₁anlā* (XV); four-radical verbs: (ʾi)*f₁anl₃al₄a* (III).

Note 5. Other derivations, like morpheme categories originating in (ʾi)*fālla* (XI), namely, (ʾi)*f₁a'alla*, (ʾi)*f₁ahalla*, (ʾi)*f₁a'alla*, and similar forms, or denominal formations, *fa'lala*, and others, correspond formally to verbal stems I through IV of four-radical verbs. They are therefore classed there (§§174ff.).

Verbal Stems of Three-Radical Verbs

§163. I. (Basic stem): The basic stem occurs in three vowel classes of the perfect base: 1. *fa'ala* (imperfect *yafa'a/i/alu*), 2. *fa'ila* (imperfect *yafalu*), 3. *fa'ula* (imperfect *yafulu*). *fa'ala* includes transitive and intransitive action verbs like قتل *qatala* (يقتل *yaqtulu*) 'kill', ضرب *daraba* (يضرِب *yadrību*) 'beat', ذهب *dhahaba* (يذهب *yadhhabu*) 'go away'. *fa'ila* includes mostly non-action verbs and verbs expressing attributes such as علق *aliqa* (يعلق *yaltaqu*) 'hang', به *baliha* (يبله *yablahu*) 'be simple-minded'. *fa'ula* includes exclusively verbs expressing qualities or attributes like حسن *hasuna* (يحسن *yahsunu*) 'be handsome, good', عمق *amuqa* (يعمق *yamuqu*) 'be deep'.

Note 1. In poetry, *fa'la* occurs occasionally in place of *fa'ila*.

Note 2. In the following description, only the most important of the typical semantic groups of the derived verbs are included.

§164. II. *faʿala* (imperf. *yufaʿilu*) forms intensives like قطع *qaṭṭaʿa* 'cut to pieces' from قطع *qaṭaʿa* 'cut off'; transitives like ثَبَّتَ *thabbata* 'make firm' from ثبت *thabata* 'be firm', عَلَّمَ *allama* 'teach' from علم *alima* 'know'; sometimes declaratives like كَذَبَ *kadhhaba* 'call a liar' from كذب *kadhhaba* 'lie'. Transitive denominal verbs are frequently in this morpheme category: سَلَّمَ *sallama* 'to offer greetings' (سلام *salāmun*).

§165. III. *fāʿala* (imperf. *yufāʿilu*) has the sense of 'intend, try to do something' or 'intend, try, to do something to someone': قَاتَلَ *qātala* 'fight' ('intend, try, to kill'), لَانَ *lāna* (imperf. يَلِينُ *yalīnu*) 'be soft, gentle'. These kinds of meanings of verbal stem III occur with the accusative. In combination with بَيْنَ *bayna* 'between', verbal stem III is frequently a transitive of stem VI. See §308.1.

§166. IV. *ʾafaʿala* (imperf. *yufaʿilu*) forms causatives like أَذْهَبَ *adhhaba* 'cause to go away' from ذَهَبَ *dhahaba* 'go away', أَحْسَنَ *aḥsana* 'do right, good' from حَسَنَ *ḥasuna* 'be good'; sometimes declarative: أَنْكَرَ *ankara* 'consider objectionable, censure'. There are other characteristic meanings, e.g., أَخْطَأَ *akhṭaʿa* 'make an error', أَصْبَحَ *aṣbaḥa* 'begin a new day' (§190.1), أَعْرَقَ *ʾaraqa* 'march to Iraq', أَطْلَبَ *aṭlaba* 'acquiesce to a demand'.

Note 1. The causative is usually not used if an action is carried out by an agent: قَتَلَ *qatalahū* 'he killed him' or 'he had him killed'.

Note 2. On the formulaic expressions *mā ʾafaʿala* and *ʾafil bi-*, see §128.

§167. V. *tafaʿala* (imperf. *yatafaʿalu*) is the reflexive of stem II: تَعَلَّمَ *taʿallama* 'teach one self, learn', تَثَبَّتَ *tathabbata* 'ascertain'; occasionally with the meaning of pretending: تَنَبَّأَ *tanabbaʿa* 'pretend, claim to be a prophet', تَكَلَّفَ *takallafa* 'force oneself, pretend to do something'.

Note 1. Concerning (ʾi)*tfaʿala* (*yatfaʿalu* > *yaffaʿalu*), see §47.

§168. VI. *tafāʿala* (imperf. *yatafāʿalu*) is the reflexive of stem III and often has a reciprocal meaning: تَعَالَجَ *taʿālaja* 'undergo treatment' from عَالَجَ *ʿālaja* 'treat someone', تَنَازَعَ *tanāzaʿa* 'contend with one another' from نَازَعَ *nāzaʿa* 'fight'; occasionally, like stem V, it has the meaning of pretending: تَنَآوَمَ *tanāwama* 'to feign sleep'.

Note 1. Concerning (i)tfā'ala (yatfā'alu > yaffā'alu) see §47.

§169. VII. (i)nfa'ala (imperf. yanfa'ilu) is reflexive-passive of the basic stem: (i)nhazama 'be put to flight' from هزم hazama 'put to flight'.

Note 1. The prefixed *n-* can be assimilated to a following *m* (§45). Of I-*n* roots, only *n-m-s* has a stem VII: (i)nnamasa 'conceal oneself'. As a rule, stem VIII occurs instead for these roots.

§170. VIII. (i)fta'ala (imperf. yafṭa'ilu) is reflexive-intransitive of the basic stem: (i)rtafa'a 'rise' from رفع rafa'a 'lift'; frequently with the meaning 'do something for oneself': (i)ttakhadha (§238) 'take for oneself' from أخذ akhadha 'take', and the meaning 'do something with someone else': (i)khtašama 'fight with each other' from خاص khāšama 'fight'.

Note 1. Concerning the assimilation of the *-t-* infix to the first radical, see §46.

§171. IX. (i)f'alla (imperf. yaf'allu) and XI. (i)f'ālla (imperf. yaf'āllu), with lengthening of the stem vowel, belong almost without exception to adjectives of the morpheme category 'af'alu (§119): (i)sfarra and اصفر (i)sfārra 'turn yellow, become pale' from أصفر asfaru 'yellow', أزور (i)zwarra and ازوار (i)zwārra become crooked, turn aside' from أزور azwaru 'oblique, crooked'.

§172. X. (i)staḥ'ala (imperf. yastaḥ'ilu) is reflexive of extinct *saḥ'ala (§162 e): (i)stawḥasha 'feel lonely' from *sawḥasha = أوحش awḥasha 'make lonely', (i)staghfara 'apologize', i.e., 'ask for forgiveness'; frequently reflexive of the causative-declarative: (i)stakbara 'consider oneself great, important, be haughty' from أكبر akbara 'deem great, important'.

§173. Verbal stems XII–XV are rare: XII. (i)f'aw'ala (imperf. yaf'aw'ilu): (i)ḥdawdaba 'be hunchback' from أحذب aḥḍabu 'hunchback', (i)ḥlawlā 'be sweet' from حلو ḥulwun 'sweet'. XIII. (i)f'awwala (imperf. yaf'awwilu): (i)lawwada 'be strong' from علد alida 'be strong'. XIV. (i)f'anlala (imperf. yaf'anlilu): (i)ḥlankaka 'be pitch-black' from حلك ḥalika 'be pitch-black'. XV. (i)f'anlā (imperf. yaf'anlī): (i)landā 'be strong' from علد alida 'be strong'.

Verbal Stems of Four-Radical Verbs

§174. I. $f\alpha l_3 al_4 a$ (imperf. $yuf\alpha l_3 il_4 u$) includes roots of diverse origin: four-radical roots like **جهر** *jamhara* 'gather', reduplicated roots like **لألأ** *larlawa* 'glisten', denominals like **منطق** *manṭaqa* 'gird' from **منطقة** *minṭaqaṭun* 'belt', **جلب** *jalbaba* 'clothe in a **جلباب** *jilbābun*', formulaic expressions like **بسم الله** *basmala* 'to utter the formula **بسم الله** *bi-smi 'l-lāhi*' (§22 c), and others.

§175. II. $taf\alpha l_3 al_4 a$ (imperf. $yataf\alpha l_3 al_4 u$) is reflexive-intransitive of the basic stem (I.): **تجمهر** *tajamhara* 'congregate', **تنطق** *tamanṭaqa* 'gird oneself'.

§176. III. $(i)f\alpha nl_3 al_4 a$ (imperf. $yaf\alpha nl_3 il_4 u$) is exceptionally rare: **أخرنطم** $(i)khranṭama$ 'turn up one's nose' from **خرطوم** *khurṭūmun* 'elephant trunk'.

Note 1. Infix -n- can be assimilated to the following m; see §45.

§177. IV. $(i)f\alpha l_3 all_4 a$ (imperf. $yaf\alpha l_3 ill_4 u$: **اشمخر** $(i)shmakharra$ 'be lofty, arrogant' from **شمخر** *shamkhara* 'be lofty, proud'; cf. §162.5.

§178. a) Instead of $(i)f\alpha lla$ (IX), $(i)f\alpha lā$ (imperf. $yaf\alpha lī$) is formed from III-weak roots: **أحوى** $(i)hwawā$ 'be dark-colored' from **أحوى** *aḥwā* 'dark-colored', **أرعوى** $(i)rawā$ 'pay attention'.

b) The causative prefix *ha-* (§162 d) is still preserved in **هراق** *harāqa* 'spill' and in several other rarely used words. On the inflection, see §249.

Note 1. Variant verbal stems of these morpheme categories occur with exceeding rarity and mostly only in one attestation.

System of Verb Forms

§179. The verb has a suffix conjugation and a prefix conjugation. The suffix conjugation is used to form the perfect. The prefix conjugation is used to form the imperfect, subjunctive, jussive, and energetic. Both conjugations have active and passive forms. The passive is distinguished from the active by stem vowels and prefix vowels. The imperative, which is formed from the imperfect base, occurs in the active only. Active and passive participles and verbal substantives (infinitive) are inflected nominal forms of the verb.

§180. The perfect and imperfect and, under special circumstances, the jussive and active participle serve as finite verb forms. The verbal system is based on the opposing aspects inherent in the perfect and the imperfect:

The perfect indicates completed action (perfective aspect).

The imperfect indicates incomplete action in process (imperfective aspect).

When the perfect and imperfect refer to time:

the perfect is used to express the past,

the imperfect is used to express the present,

and the imperfect combined with *sawfa*, *sa-* is used to express the future.

Note 1. To distinguish more precisely different aspects and tenses, the particles *qad* and *sawfa* (*sa-*) and verb forms combined with *kāna* (*yakūnu*) 'to be', *ja'ala* 'make, do', among others (§190) are used.

Use of the Perfect

§181. The perfect indicates completed action. It is used to:

a) refer to events that have already taken place (preterite):

إليه دعاني يوما فدخلت إليه *da'ānī yawman fa-dakhaltu ilayhī* 'One day he called me, and I went in before him', *khalaqa 'l-lāhu 's-samāwātī wa-'l-'arḍa* (Koran 29:44; 30:8) 'God created heaven and earth'.

b) establish facts: *اختلفت العلماء (i) khtalafat-i 'l-'ulamāwū* 'Scholars are of differing opinions', *أنه علم 'alima 'annahū* 'He knows that ...', *الذين كفروا (a) lladhīna kafarū* (Koran 2:6, 26, 89, etc.) 'those who are unbelievers'. This use of the perfect is limited primarily to pre-classical Arabic, nevertheless it is preserved in maxims and formulas in the classical period: *أنجز حرّ ما وعد 'anjaza ḥurrūn mā wa'ada* 'A free man fulfills what he promises'.

Note 1. If the action is conceived of as a continuing process, the imperfect may be used: *أعلم أنه 'a'lamu 'annahū* 'I know that ...'.

Note 2. The perfect *كان kāna* 'he was' (cf. §190 ff.) is also used in the Koran and infrequently in other pre-classical texts to establish facts: *كان الله غفورا رحيمًا kāna 'l-lāhu ghafūran raḥīmān* (Koran 4:96, 100, 152; 25:70, etc.) 'God is merciful'.

c) verify an action that is completed at the same time as the establishment of a fact (coincidental occurrence): بعثت إليك بهذا *ba'ath^{tu} ilayka bi-hādhā* 'I herewith (hereby) send this to you', حلفت *ḥalaftu* 'I hereby swear ...'.

Note 3. The perfect which establishes facts or verifies completed action is negated with *mā* (§321). The jussive in combination with the negative particle *lam* is used as a negative preterite (§194). Concerning the negative particle *lā* in combination with the perfect, see §§182 b; 318 b; 335 b.

Note 4. Note that many verbs can be interpreted as expressing both durative and punctual-ingressive actions: قام *qāma* 'He stood upright' or 'He stood up', ركب *rakiba* 'He rode' or 'He mounted'.

§182. a) The perfect is used to express "wished for" or "conceived of" actions: رحمه الله *rahimahū 'l-lāhu* 'May God have mercy on him!', 'May God be merciful to him!', بوركك *būrikta* 'May you be blessed!'.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic the imperfect is frequently used to express wish: يرحمك الله *yarḥamuka 'l-lāhu* 'God will bless you', 'May God bless you'.

b) The perfect that expresses wish is negated by لا *lā* (§318): لا قاتلك الله *lā qātalaka 'l-lāhu* 'May God not condemn you (fight against you)!'. This use also occurs in oaths: حلفت والله لا فعلت هذا *ḥalaftu wa-'l-lāhi lā fa'altu hādhā* 'I hereby swear, by God! May I never have done this!', i.e. 'I would never do this'.

§183. In a subordinate clause, the action or event that is indicated by the perfect is dependent on the situation in the main clause: جلس حيث جلس أبوه *jalasa ḥaythū jalasa 'abūhu* 'He sat where his father had sat', لنا اجتمع *lammā 'jtamara 'n-nāsu ilayya qultu lahum* 'After the people had assembled around me, I said to them ...'.

Note 1. Concerning the use of the perfect without reference to time in generally valid conditional clauses and clauses with conditional implication, see §446 a.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the perfect was sometimes used to represent a hypothetical occurrence: *أَسْرَكَ أَنْ أَخْرَجَ* *ʾa-sarraka ʾan ʾakhruja* 'Would you really rejoice over my departure?', *وَدِدْتُ أَنَّهُ رَأَى* *wadidtu ʾannahū raʾānī* 'I wished that he had seen me'. In classical prose usage, the imperfect (§185 d) or *kāna* with the imperfect (192.3) has replaced the perfect here.

Use of the Imperfect

§184. The imperfect indicates a continuing or possibly continuing process independent of the time in which the event takes place. It can be a single continuing process, a repeatedly occurring event, or an act that occurs over and over (habitual action). If the context does not refer to the past, the imperfect indicates the present or future.

Note 1. The imperfect is as a rule negated with *لَا* *lā* (§318).

Note 2. Note that only verbs of durative aspect can be interpreted as expressing a single continuing process: *يَتَحَرَّكُ* *yataḥarraku* 'He is just moving, he is in movement'. The imperfect of verbs of punctual aspect refers to either immediately impending action or a continuously occurring process: *يَجِدُ* *yajidu* 'He is about to find' or 'He finds again and again', *يَأْتِي* *yatī* 'He is about to come' or 'He comes again and again (every day, etc.)'.

§185. For present-time actions, the imperfect is used:

a) to portray an act occurring in the present: *أَرَأَيْكَ تَبْكِي* *arāka tabkī* 'I see you crying (literally, that you are crying)', *مَآذَا تَفْعَلُ* *mādhā tafalu* 'What are you doing?'.

b) to relate a repeatedly occurring act: *أَعْفُو عَنِ الْجَاهِلِ وَأَعْطِي السَّائِلَ* *ʾaʿfū ʾan-i ʾl-jāhili wa-ʾuṭī ʾs-sāʾila* 'I always forgive fools and give to those who ask'.

c) to describe a universally occurring act (not limited to any time): *الْتِمَسَاحُ يَعِيشُ فِي الْمَاءِ* *(a)t-timsāḥu yaʾīshu fī ʾl-māʾi* 'Crocodiles live in the water'.

d) to introduce an act that is about to occur or might occur: نظر أولئك يرجون رحمة الله *nanzuru* 'We are watching (waiting for what will happen)', أولئك يرجون رحمة الله *ulā'ika yarjūna raḥmata 'l-lāhi* (Koran 2:218) 'These should hope for the mercy of God', تسيرون إلى الجبال *tasīrūna ilā 'l-jibālī* 'Now they will go into the mountains!'

§186. If the context refers to the past, that which occurred in the past may be described with the imperfect: إذا أصبح عمرو قال من عدا على إلہنا ثم يغدو *idhā 'aṣbaḥa 'Amrun qāla man 'adā 'alā 'ilāhinā thumma yaḡhdū yaltamisahū hattā 'idhā wajadahū ḡhasalahū* 'When morning came, Amr said, who blasphemed against our God? Then he set out (imperf.) very early to look for him. When he finally found him, he purged him'. Not infrequently, it describes a process that is repeated or continues: لم تقتلون أنبياء الله من قبل *lima taqtulūna 'anbiyā'a 'l-lāhi min qablu* (Koran 2:91) 'Why did you keep killing the prophets of God before?', بكى ويبكي ما شاء الله *bakā wa-yabkī mā shā'a 'l-lāhu* 'He cried and kept crying, as long as God willed it'. In this case, the imperfect is usually combined with كان *kāna* (§192).

Note 1. Dreams and eyewitness reports are frequently rendered in the imperfect: قال الملك إني أرى سبع بقرات *qāla 'l-maliku innī 'arā sab'a baqarātin* (Koran 12:43) 'The king said, I saw (in a dream) seven cows'.

§187. a) The reported action can also be rendered in the future: لا يموت في النار ولا يحيا *lā yamūtu fī 'n-nāri wa-lā yaḥyā* 'He will not die in hell-fire and will not live'.

b) سوف *sawfa* or س *sa-* may be used to indicate the future tense: إنه سوف يزورك *innahū sawfa yazūruka* 'He will (certainly) visit you', سوف أستغفر لكم ربي *sawfa 'astaghfiru lakum rabbī* 'I shall ask my Lord to forgive you' (Koran 12:98), لقد علمنا أن سيكون ذلك *la-qad 'alimnā 'an sa-yakūnu dhālika* 'We already knew that this will be (so)'.

Note 1. *sawfa*, *sa-* are not combined with negative particles. لن *lan* with the subjunctive (§196) is used instead.

§188. As it depends on a perfect in the main clause, the imperfect is used to:

a) describe an action occurring at the same time: *marra bī wa-ʾanā ʾaqrudu* 'He went by me while I was sitting' (§§407 ff.), *بینا أنا أمشي baynā ʾanā ʾamshī ʾidh ʾaqbala rajulun* 'While I was going there, a man (suddenly) approached' (§444).

b) describe an action that occurs in the immediate future with respect to a perfect in the main clause: *أتى العين يشرب ʾatā ʾl-ʾayna yashrabu* 'He came to the spring to drink', *بعثني في جلب أبيه baʾathanī fī jalabin ʾabī-uhū* 'He sent me with cattle that I was supposed to sell'.

The Verbal Particle *qad*

§189. *qad* occurs immediately before the perfect and imperfect.

a) In combination with *qad*, the perfect indicates an action completed already or previous to a certain time. The perfect cannot be used in its narrative function (§181 a) when *qad* appears: *قد مات qad māta* 'He had (at a certain time already) died', *قد جعت qad jutu* 'I have become (am already) hungry'.

b) In combination with *qad*, the imperfect indicates an action that possibly or probably would occur: 'sometimes, perhaps, might occur ...', 'it could be that it will occur': *قد أكتب qad ʾaktubu* 'It could be that I shall write', 'sometimes I write', *قد ينامون وقد يأكلون qad yanāmūna wa-qad yākulūna* 'They might sleep, they might eat'.

Note 1. Only the negative particle *لا lā* or short interjections like *والله wa-l-lāhi* 'by God' can come between *qad* and the verb.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *qad* before the imperfect is sometimes used to indicate the past: *قد أرى غوايتهم qad ʾarā ghawāyatahum* 'Then I noticed their error', *قد أدخل الخباء qad ʾadkhulu ʾl-khibāʾa* 'Then I went (sometimes, would always go) into their tent'.

Use of Compound Verb Forms

§190. The perfect of كان *kāna* 'he was' is used in combination with the perfect and imperfect to indicate the past. The imperfect يكون *yakūnu* 'he will be' is used with the perfect to indicate the future. A nominal subject comes between *kāna* / *yakūnu* and the following verb: *kāna* 'r-*raǧulu fa'ala* (*yaf'alu*) and *yakūnu* 'r-*raǧulu fa'ala*.

Note 1. There are also other verbs that are used to define the tenses with more precision. These verbs specify modes of action (*Aktionsarten*) appropriate to their meanings. The most important verbs of this type are: أصبح *aṣbaḥa*, أمسى *amsā* meaning 'to become', ظلّ *ẓalla*, بات *bā-ta* meaning 'keep (doing)', جعل *ja'ala*, أخذ *ʾakhadha* meaning 'begin' (§192.1), and عاد *āda* meaning 'do again'. See §432.

Note 2. كان *kāna* is also used to indicate the past in relation to a nominal clause that describes a condition (§360): أخوه غائب *ʾakhūhu ḡhāribun* 'His brother is missing': كان أخوه غائباً *kāna ʾakhūhu ḡhāriban* 'His brother was missing' (§382 a).

§191. a) كان *kāna* with the perfect refers to actions that have occurred in the past (pluperfect): هذه أُنْثَاكِ الَّتِي كُنْتَ خَرَجْتَ عَلَيْهَا *hādhihi ʾatānuki ʾllatī kunti kharajti ʾalayhā* 'This is your (fem.) she-ass on which you had gone out'.

b) قد *qad* comes either before *kāna* or before the following perfect: قد كان رأى منك مثل ما رأينا *qad kāna raʾa minka mithla mā raʾaynā* = كان قد رأى *kāna qad raʾa* ... 'he had already noticed the same (qualities) in you that we noticed'.

Note 1. Concerning *kāna* referring to the past in conditional clauses, see §446 b.

§192. When used with the imperfect, كان *kāna* describes an action that is occurring, is continuing, or occurs repeatedly in the past: كان الملك يمرّ به *kāna ʾl-maliku yamurru bihi* 'The king was passing by him then', يوما خرجت *yawman kharajat kamā kānat taṣnaʿu* 'One day she went out, just as she used to do', كان يكون في البيت *kāna yakūnu fī ʾl-bayti* 'He always (usually, continually) was in the house'.

Note 1. جعل *ja'ala* or أخذ *ʾakhadha* is used to express an action begun in the past: *فعل يستبطئ الأمر fa-ja'ala yastabṭi'u 'l-amra* 'From now on, he found (began to find) that the matter was proceeding too slowly'. See also §432.

Note 2. The negative equivalent of *kāna* is *lam yakun* (§194.1).

Note 3. Sometimes *kāna* is used with the imperfect to express an action that could have occurred in the past or should have: *كان يكون سوء أدب kāna yakūnu sū'a 'adabin* 'It would have been a misbehavior', *فكيف كان يقول fa-kayfa kāna yaqūlu* 'How should he have said it?'.

Note 4. If it occurs in combination with more than one imperfect form joined by *wa-* 'and', *kāna* is used only once.

§193. يكون *yakūnu* in combination with the perfect indicates that the action is conceived of as having been completed in the future (future perfect): *فلنأخذه فنكون قد أخذنا عوضا fal-na'khudhu fa-nakūnu qad ʾakhadhnā* 'iwaḍan' 'Let us take him, for then we should have taken a substitute'.

Note 1. Concerning the subjunctive يكون *yakūna* in this construction, see §197; see §222.2 on the imperative كن *kun*.

Use of the Jussive

§194. The jussive is used as a perfect: a) in combination with لم *lam* 'not' and لمّا *lammā* 'not yet': *لم يأت lam yati* 'He did not come', *لمّا يأت lammā yati* 'He has not yet come'.

Note 1. لم يكن *lam yakun* is the negative equivalent of *kāna* in verbal constructions: *أولم أكن حذرتك a-wa-lam ʾakun ḥadhdhartuka* 'Had I not warned you?', *لم يكن يسمع lam yakun yasmaru* 'As usual, he heard nothing then'.

b) In conditional clauses (§446 a) and in the apodosis after imperatives (§412).

§195. The jussive implies an order: a) It is combined with the particle *li-* in the positive: *ليأت li-yati* 'Let him come!'.

Note 1. After *wa-* and *fa-* (§§328 f), *li* is abbreviated to *l-*: فلنأخذ *fal-na'khudh* 'So let us take!'.

b) In combination with the negative لا *lā*, the jussive implies a negative order (prohibition): لا تقتل *lā taqtul* 'You shall not kill, do not kill!', الله لا يهزئك *lā yuhzinkum-u 'l-lāhu* 'May God not cause you grief!'.

Use of the Subjunctive

§196. a) The subjunctive indicates an action as intended or expected; it occurs only in a subordinate clause: اغفر لي يا رب فأدخل الجنة *ghfir lī yā rabbi fa-adkhula 'l-jannata* 'Forgive me, my Lord, so that I might enter Paradise!', ما منعك ألا تسجد إذ أمرتك *mā mana'aka 'allā tasjuda 'idh 'amartuka* (Koran 7:12) 'What prevented you from prostrating yourself when I had given you the command?'. The subjunctive is negated with لا *lā*.

b) The subjunctive comes after the particles: أن *'an* 'that' and ألا *'allā* (< *'an-lā* §45) 'that not, lest' (§414), كي *kay* and لي *lī* 'that, in order that' (§438), ف *fa-* 'so that' (§410), أو *'aw* 'unless' (§411), and حتى *hattā* 'until (that)' (§439 b); see also §345.

Note 1. The subjunctive follows *'an* and *hattā* only if an intention or possible result is expressed. Otherwise, the perfect or imperfect is used: أعلم أن نام (ينام) *'alamu 'an nāma (yanāmu)* 'I know that he slept (sleeps)', مرض حتى لا يرجوه *marīḍa hattā lā yarjūnahū* 'He is so sick that they have no hope for him'. In post-classical Arabic, however, the subjunctive is used most of the time indiscriminately after *'an* and *hattā*.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the subjunctive is attested on occasion even after إذا *'idhan* 'then', ثم *thumma* 'then', and و *wa-* 'and then'.

c) لن *lan* with the subjunctive (< **lā 'an*) is used to negate future actions (§187): لن يزورك أبدا *lan yazūrakum 'abadan* 'He will never visit you'.

Note 3. The subjunctive is not used after the future particles *sawfa*, *sa-*.

§197. An action that might have occurred is expressed after a subjunctive particle with يكون *yakūna* and a following perfect: عسى أن يكون سمع مني *'asā 'an yakūna sami'a minnī* 'Perhaps he has heard about me' (§342.2),

خاف أن يكون قد أخطأ *khāfa 'an yakūna qad 'akhtā'a* 'He feared that he could have committed an error', لا تطلب الفساد في الدنيا فتكون قد نسيت *lā taṭlub-i 'l-fasāda fī 'd-dunyā fa-takūna qad nasīta naṣībaka min-a 'l-'ākhirati* 'Do not seek evil in this world, lest you would have forgotten your share in the hereafter' (§410).

Use of the Energetic

§198. The energetic is used to introduce an action that is certain to occur (e.g., in an oath). In the positive, it occurs with the prefixed particle *la-* (§334): لتبايعن أو لأحرقنكم *la-tubāyi'unna 'aw la-ruḥarriqannakum* 'You will absolutely pay homage, or I shall certainly burn you up', حلف ليقتلن *ḥalafa la-yaqtulanna* 'He swore he will certainly kill'. The energetic is negated with *lā*.

Note 1. The second person frequently has the sense of an order: لا تقولن *lā taqūlanna* 'Do not indeed say anything!'

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the energetic also occurs in conditional sentences (§§450.1; 451) and in interrogative sentences (without *la-*).

Use of the Passive

§199. a) The passive is the form of the verb in which the agent is not named. The agent either is unknown or is intentionally not identified: قتل أخوك *qutila 'akhūka* 'Your brother was killed', أمرت *umirta* 'you were ordered, instructed'; cf. §405 b.

Note 1. Divine or supernatural powers (God, fate, etc.) are often left unmentioned: توفي *tuwuffiya* 'He was taken (by God)', i.e., 'he died'.

Note 2. The cause, origin, and instrument of passive action are occasionally rendered by *li-*, *min*, and *bi* (§§294 ff.): ترعاه له *turā'u lahū* 'He was terrified of him', أسكر من الخمر *uskira min-a 'l-khamri* 'He was made drunk by the wine', أرضعنا بها *urḍinā bihā* 'we were suckled by her'.

b) Intransitive reflexive verbs do not have a subject in the passive. As a rule, they then have a prepositional complement: يسار إليها *yusāru ilayhā* 'It was traveled to, one travels to it', اختلف في ذلك *(u)khtulifa fī dhālika* 'There was disagreement over that'.

Note 3. Transitive verbs too can be used in the passive without subject, if they have a complement: غشي عليه *ghushiya 'alayhi* 'It was covered over him', i.e., 'He became unconscious'.

§200. In passive constructions with transitive verbs, the direct object (§373) becomes the subject. All additional complements, whether accusatives or prepositions, remain unchanged.

a) Verbs with accusatives: أوتيت الكتاب *ūtīta 'l-kitāba* 'You were brought the book', أتى يسمى عليا *yusammā 'Alīyan* 'He is called Ali', تَبَرَّأُوا تَبَرُّوا *tubbirū tatbīran* 'They were completely mangled' (§376)

b) Verbs with prepositions: أتى بكتاب *ūtiya bi-kitābin* 'He was brought a book', يلقَّب بالجاحظ *yulaqqab bi-'l-Jāḥiẓi* 'He is called by the *laqab* "goggle-eyed"'.

Note 1. The passive participle is treated the same way: (a) المسمَّى عليا *l-musammā 'Alīyan* 'the one named Ali', المعروف بالجاحظ *l-ma'rūfu bi-'l-Jāḥiẓi* 'The one known as al-Jāḥiẓ'. See also §204.

Use of the Participle

§201. Participles are adjectives that represent the meaning of the verb as an attribute. Active and passive participles can have both perfect and imperfect (§180) meanings: ضارب *dāribun* 'one who has hit' and 'one who hits, will hit, can hit', مشروب *mashrūbun* 'drunk' and 'something that is drunk, can be drunk; drinkable'. The imperfect meaning is associated more often with the active participle, perfect meaning more often with the passive participle.

Note 1. Other verbal adjectives, especially those of the morpheme categories *fa'ilun*, *fa'ūlun* (§120), *fa'ālun* (§115), may also assume participle-like functions. Participles are usually not formed from verbs that refer to qualities (§163); rather, verbal adjectives in morpheme categories *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun*, *fa'ūlun* (§115) are used.

§202. The active participle as a nominal predicate (§361) functions very much like an imperfect. It is used:

a) as a perfect participle, to represent an action that has begun and still continues: *ghadawtu ilayhi fa-rīdhā huwa qārimun yuṣallī* 'I went in the early morning to him, just as he was engaged in prayer' ('having stood up'), *baynā naḥnu mutawaqqifūna rīdh nūdiya* 'As we stood there ('having stopped'), he was called'.

b) as an imperfect participle, to represent an action that has not yet been realized but is expected to be taken: *huwa kātibun* 'He is in a position to, just about to write' or simply 'He is a writer', *anā rājirun ilayhim fa-dā'ihim ilā 'l-islām* 'I was about (have already decided) to return to them and call them to Islam'. Frequently, it occurs after the negative particles *mā* and *laysa* (§§321; 323): *lastu bi-fā'ilin (fā'ilan)* or *ma āna bi-fā'ilin* 'I will not (cannot) do it'.

Note 1. Infrequently, there is no subject: *a-fa-hādimun mā qad banaytu* 'Will you destroy what I have built?'.

c) as a circumstantial accusative (§§380 ff.), the participle functions much like the imperfect (§188): *ra'ahū bākīyan (yabkī)* 'He saw him crying (cry)', *kharaja hāriban (yahrubu)* 'He went out to flee'. The perfect participle can be used in place of *qad* with the perfect (§189 a): *lā ātika mujriman (wa-qad ajramtu)* 'I shall not come to you as one who has committed a crime'.

§203. The active participle can behave like a verb in constructions with an accusative object and like a noun in constructions with a genitive object (§386b).

a) The perfect participle as a rule is found in constructions with the genitive and thus functions as a substantive: *al-lāhu khāliq al-ardī* 'God is the creator of the earth'. Cf. §146.2.

b) The imperfect participle occurs in constructions with the accusative or the genitive: *dāribu akhūhi* = *dāribun akhāhu* 'striking his brother', *kullu nafsin dhāriqatu 'l-mawti* (Koran 3:185; 21:35; 29:57) 'Every soul will taste death'. The accusative

may also follow when the participle functions as a substantive: طالب الثَّارِ *tālībun-i 'th-thara*, الثَّالِبُ الثَّارِ *(a)t-tālibu 'th-thara* 'one who seeks blood revenge', 'the one who seeks blood revenge'. See §146 concerning the definiteness of the construct state.

Note 1. Personal pronominal suffixes on participles are usually interpreted as genitives: ضاربه *dāribuhū* 'hitting him', ضاري *dāribī* 'hitting me', rarely ضاربني *dāribunī* 'hitting me' (§268).

Note 2. The accusative can be replaced by *li-* (§295 a): الطالب للعلم *(a)t-tālibu lil-ilmī* 'the one who seeks knowledge'. This construction is obligatory when the object precedes the participle: المكرم للضيف مكرم *liḍ-dayfi mukrimun* 'honoring the guest'.

Note 3. Verbal adjectives (§201.1) and elatives occur in constructions similar to those of the corresponding participles: هو أطلب للعلم منكم *huwa aṭlabu lil-ilmī minkum* 'He seeks knowledge more eagerly than you'.

Note 4. Concerning the active participle in the role of indeterminate subject, see §358 b.

§204. The prepositional complement (§199 b) associated with a participle of a passive without subject takes a personal pronominal suffix that refers to the thing or person mentioned: مغشي عليه *maghshīyun 'alayhi* 'covered over him', 'unconscious', parallel to غشي عليه *ghushīya 'alayhi* 'It was covered over him', 'reliable', parallel to موثق به *mawthūqun bihī* 'someone on whom one relies', i.e., 'reliable', parallel to وثق به *wuthīqa bihī* 'It is relied on him, he is relied on'. Although the passive participle without subject does not agree grammatically, the personal suffix does agree with the substantive to which it is subordinate: أنت موثق بك *anta mawthūqun bika* 'You are reliable', صفيحة مختوم على أسفلها *ṣaḥīfatun makhtūmun 'alā 'asfalihā* 'a leaf the verso of which bears a seal', رجال مغضوب عليهم *rijālun maḡhdūbun 'alayhim* 'men at whom they are annoyed, annoying men'.

Note 1. The prepositional complement is lacking in passive participles of the derived verbal stems, if they are used as *nomen loci* or as verbal substantives (§78.3): مستنقع *mustanqarun* 'where water collects, bog'.

Use of Verbal Substantives

§205. Verbal substantives embody the meaning of the verb without any of its functional properties: قتل *qatlun* 'killing, having killed, being killed'. They are used to rephrase a verb as a noun: إِنَّ خُرُوجَهُ كَانَ غَضَبًا *inna khurūjahū kāna ghaḍaban* 'His exit was undertaken in anger'; to change a verb into a nominal subordinate: يَسْتَطِيعُ بُلُوغَ حَاجَتِهِ *yastaṭīʿu bulūgha ḥā-jatihī* 'He is able to attain what he needs'; as an inner object (§§376 f.): ضَرَبَ ضَرْبَهُ *ḍarabahū ḍarban* 'He struck him a blow, i.e., hit him hard'.

§206. A verbal substantive can be combined, like a noun, with a genitive or, like a verb, with an accusative or preposition:

a) The genitive takes the place of the subject or object (or 'passive subject') of the verb: قَتْلُ أَخِيهِ *qatlu ʾakhīhi* 'the fact that his brother has killed' and 'the fact that someone has killed his brother, or the fact that his brother has been killed'.

Note 1. A verbal substantive of a verb that takes a prepositional complement also appears with the same complement: (أ)الاطَّلَاعُ عَلَى الْكُتُبِ *l-ittilāʿu ʿalā al-kutubī* 'studying books'.

b) The accusative occurs for the object when the genitive position is occupied by a subject genitive, when the verbal substantive is made definite by the article, or when the substantive is indefinite: قَتَلَكَ أَخَاهُ *qatluka ʾakhāhu* 'your having killed his brother', ضَعِيفُ النَّكَايَةِ أَعْدَاءَهُ *daʿīfu ʾn-nikāyati ʿadāʾahū* 'weak in injuring his enemies', ضَرَبَ بِالسُّيُوفِ رُؤُوسَهُمْ *ḍarban bi-ʾs-suyūfi ruʾusahum* 'cutting off their heads with the swords'.

Note 2. See §271.1 on the adding of personal pronominal suffixes to the verbal substantive.

Note 3. The accusative can be replaced by the preposition *li-* (§295 a): مُنَافَسَتِي لَهُ *munāfasatī lahu* 'my rivalry with him', أَخَذَ دِينَارًا *bi-ʾakhḍhin li-dīnārīn* 'by taking a dinar'.

c) The subject can be in the nominative: *الضرب أبوك ولده* (ʾa) *d-darbu ʾabūka waladahū* 'the act of your father having struck his child'. More often, the agent of the action is introduced with *min* (§299 c): *الحب مني إليك* (ʾa) *l-hubbu minnī ʾilayka* 'the love of me (I have) for you'.

Inflection of the Verb

Suffix Conjugation (Perfect)

§207. The following morphemes suffixed to the perfect base (§§163 ff.) constitute the personal inflectional forms:

Sg.	3rd m.	-a	f.	-at	2nd m.	-ta	f.	-ti	1st	-tu
Du.		-ā		-atā		-tumā		-tumā		—
Pl.		-ū		-na		-tum		-tunna		-nā

Cf. the tables of paradigms, pp. 237–258.

Note 1. On the orthography of the 3rd pl. masc. *قاتلوا qatalū*, see §7.2.

Note 2. If a suffix beginning with *t* or *n* attaches to stem-final *-t* or *-n*, only one *ت* or *ن* is written: *ثبت* *thabat-tu* 'I stood firm', *آمنّا* *āman-nā* 'We believed' (§17.3).

Note 3. On the assimilation of suffixes beginning with *t* to stem-final consonants, see §48.

Note 4. In poetry, *تم* *-tumū* (§7.5) occurs besides *-tum*.

§208. As a rule, the perfect bases end in single consonants: *قاتل-a*, 'He killed' *قاتل-tu* 'I killed'. In verb-stems IX and XI, as well as stem IV of four-radical verbs, the final double consonant must be broken up before a suffix that begins with a consonant (§50.2): *احمر* (ʾi) *ḥmarr-a* 'He turned red', 3rd fem. *احمرت* (ʾi) *ḥmarr-at*, 3rd pl. *احمروا* (ʾi) *ḥmarrū*, etc., but 1st sg. *احمررت* (ʾi) *ḥmarartu*, 1st pl. *احمررنا* (ʾi) *ḥmararnā*, etc. Also, *اصفر* (ʾi) *sfarra* 'He turned yellow', but 3rd pl. fem. *اصفاررن* (ʾi) *sfārarna*, etc. *اطمأن* (ʾi) *ṭmaʾanna* 'He became quiet', but 2nd pl. masc. *اطمأنتم* (ʾi) *ṭmaʾnantum*, etc.

Note 1. Stem XV is inflected like III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.): *إِغْدَى* (ʔi)ʿlandā ‘He was strong’, 3rd sg. fem. *إِغْدَت* (ʔi)ʿlandat, 1st sg. *إِغْدَيْت* (ʔi)ʿlandaytu, etc.

§209. The inflection of negative *ليس* *laysa* ‘he is not’ (§323) follows that of the suffix conjugation: sg. 3rd masc. *ليس* *laysa*, fem. *ليست* *laysat*, 2nd masc. *لست* *lasta*, fem. *لست* *lasti*, 1st *لست* *lastu*, dual 3rd masc. *ليسا* *laysā*, fem. *ليستا* *laysatā*, 2nd *لستما* *lastumā*, pl. 3rd masc. *ليسوا* *laysū*, fem. *لسن* *lasna*, 2nd masc. *لستم* *lastum*, fem. *لستن* *lastunna*, 1st *لسنا* *lasnā*. Cf. §52.

§210. Passive: Rather than the perfect stem-vowels *a* - *a*, and, in the basic stem, also *a* - *i*, the passive has the vowel sequence *u* - *i*.

a) Passive perfect: *فُعِلَ* *fuʿila* from *faʿala* (I), *فُعِلَ* *fuʿila* from *faʿala* (II), *فُعِلَ* *fūʿila* from *fāʿala* (III), *أُفُعِلَ* *ʔufʿila* from *ʔafʿala* (IV), *فُعِلَ* *fuʿl₃il₄a* from *faʿl₃al₄a* (four-radical I).

b) In verb stems formed with *ta-*, the vowel of the prefix is assimilated to the *u* of the stem: *تُفُعِلَ* *tufuʿila* from *tafaʿala* (V), *تُفُعِلَ* *tufūʿila* from *tafāʿala* (VI), *تُفُعِلَ* *tufuʿl₃il₄a* from *tafaʿl₃al₄a* (four-radical II).

c) Auxiliary vowels in stems beginning with double consonants are likewise assimilated (§54 b): *انْفُعِلَ* (ʔu)*nfuʿila* from (ʔi)*nfaʿala* (VII), *افتُعِلَ* (ʔu)*ftuʿila* from (ʔi)*ftaʿala* (VIII), *استُفُعِلَ* (ʔu)*stufʿila* from (ʔi)*stafaʿala* (X), *افُعِلَلْ* (ʔu)*f_unl₃il₄a* from (ʔi)*f_uanl₃al₄a* (four-radical III), *افُعِلَلْ* (ʔu)*f_uul₃il₄a* from (ʔi)*f_ual₃all₄a* (four-radical IV).

Note 1. In poetry, *فُعِلَ* *fuʿla*, fem. *فُعِلَت* *fuʿlat* occur occasionally for *fuʿila*, fem. *fuʿilat*. Cf. §163.1.

Prefix Conjugation

§211. The imperfect base is inflected with prefixed morphemes to indicate person and suffixes to indicate plural and dual. The prefixes appear in two series:

a) *a*-series:

	3rd m.	f.	2nd m.	f.	1st
Sg.	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta- ... ī</i>	<i>ʾa-</i>
Du.	<i>ya- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	—
Pl.	<i>ya- ... -ū</i>	<i>ya- ... -na</i>	<i>ta- ... -ū</i>	<i>ta- ... -na</i>	<i>na-</i>

The *a*-series occurs in the active of the basic stem, stems V–XV, and stems II–IV of four-radical stems.

Note 1. If *ta-* appears before *ta-* when it is part of the stem in forms V, VI, or II (four-radical), the sequence *ta-ta-* of the prefix can be simplified to *ta-* (§49 a): *تعلم ta'allamu* for *تتعلم tata'allamu* 'you learn, she learns'.

b) *u*-series:

	3rd m.	f.	2nd m.	f.	1st
Sg.	<i>yu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu- ... -ī</i>	<i>ʾu-</i>
Du.	<i>yu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	—
Pl.	<i>yu- ... -ū</i>	<i>yu- ... -na</i>	<i>tu- ... -ū</i>	<i>tu- ... -na</i>	<i>nu-</i>

The *u*-series occurs in the active of stems II, III, and IV, as well as in the basic stem of four-radical verbs. In addition, it occurs in the passive of all the verb stems. See the paradigms, pp. 237–258 ff.

Note 2. As a dialect variant, an *i*-series is attested in the *a*-class of the imperfect basis (§216): *ʿalima* 'know' : non-classical imperfect *ti'lamu* (Cf. §§241.3; 244.3).

§212. A distinctive feature of the imperfect in all forms that do not have supplementary suffixes is the *u*-morpheme: *يقتل ya-qtul-u* 'He kills', *تقتل ta-qtul-u* 'She kills', 'you (masc.) kill', *أقتل ʾa-qtul-u* 'I kill', *نقتل na-qtul-u* 'We kill'. The supplementary suffixes *-ī*, *-ā*, *-ū* are extended in the imperfect by the addition of *-na/ni* to *-īna*, *-āni*, *-ūna*: *تقتلين ta-qtul-īna* 'You (fem. sg.) kill', *يقتلان ya-qtul-āni* 'Both of them kill', *تقتلان ta-qtul-āni* 'Both of them (fem.) kill', both of you kill', *يقتلون ya-qtul-ūna* 'They (masc.) kill', *تقتلون ta-qtul-ūna* 'You (masc. pl.) kill'. The plural feminine forms are: *يقتلن ya-qtul-na* 'They (fem.) kill', *تقتلن ta-qtul-na* 'You (fem.) kill'.

§213. The subjunctive is distinguished by the *-a* morpheme. The supplementary suffixes are not extended: يَقتُل *ya-qtul-a*, تَقتُل *ta-qtul-a*, تَقْتُلِي *ta-qtul-ī*, أَقْتُل *a-qtul-a*, يَقتُلَا *ya-qtul-ā*, تَقتُلَا *ta-qtul-ā*, يَقتُلُوا *ya-qtul-ū*, يَقتُلْنَ *ya-qtul-na*, تَقتُلُوا *ta-qtul-ū*, نَقتُل *na-qtul-a*.

§214. The jussive is distinguished by the absence of endings. The supplementary suffixes are not extended: يَقتُل *ya-qtul*, تَقتُل *ta-qtul*, تَقْتُلِي *ta-qtul-ī*, أَقْتُل *a-qtul*, يَقتُلَا *ya-qtul-ā*, تَقتُلَا *ta-qtul-ā*, يَقتُلُوا *ya-qtul-ū*, يَقتُلْنَ *ya-qtul-na*, تَقتُلُوا *ta-qtul-ū*, تَقتُلْنَ *ta-qtul-na*, نَقتُل *na-qtul*.

§215. The energetic is distinguished by the *-anna* morpheme (energetic I) or by the *-an* morpheme (energetic II): يَقتُلْنَ *ya-qtul-an(na)*, تَقتُلْنَ *ta-qtul-an(na)*, أَقْتُلْنَ *a-qtul-an(na)*, نَقتُلْنَ *na-qtul-an(na)*. The supplementary suffixes *-ī*, *-ū*, are shortened before *-n(na)*: تَقتُلْنَ *ta-qtul-in(na)*, يَقتُلْنَ *ya-qtul-un(na)*, تَقتُلْنَ *ta-qtul-un(na)*. In the dual, **-ā-ann(a)* becomes *-ānni* without the shortening of *ā*; and in the fem. pl., **-na-ann(a)* becomes *-nānni*: يَقتُلَانِ *ya-qtul-ānni*, تَقتُلَانِ *ta-qtul-ānni*, يَقتُلْنَائِي *ya-qtul-nānni*, تَقتُلْنَائِي *ta-qtul-nānni*.

Note 1. On the spelling of يَقتُلْنَ or يَقتُلَا *yaqtulan*, see §11.3. The pausal form is يَقتُلَا *yaqtulā*.

Imperfect Base

§216. The imperfect base in the active of the basic stem has three vowel classes: *-faʕal*, *-faʕil*, *-faʕul*. Among the vowel classes of the perfect base (§163) and the imperfect base, six combinations are possible:

1st	Perf. <i>faʕala</i> :	Imperf. <i>yafʕulu</i>	4.	Perf. <i>faʕila</i> :	Imperf. <i>yafʕalu</i>
2nd	<i>faʕala</i> :	<i>yafʕilu</i>	5.	<i>faʕula</i> :	<i>yafʕulu</i>
3rd	<i>faʕala</i> :	<i>yafʕalu</i>	6.	<i>faʕila</i> :	<i>yafʕilu</i>

Most verbs of the pattern *faʕala* belong to classes 1 and 2 (see §163). The *a* of the imperfect base of those in class 3 is conditioned by a laryngeal or pharyngeal: قَرَأَ *qarara* (يَقْرَأُ *yaqraru*) 'read, recite', ذَهَبَ *dhaḥaba* (يَذْهَبُ *yadhhabu*) 'go away'. The perfect base *faʕila* regularly has the imperfect *yafʕalu* (class 4): شَرِبَ *shariba* (يَشْرِبُ *yashrabu*) 'drink'. Likewise the imperfect *yafʕulu* (class 5) consistently belongs to perfect *faʕula*. Class 6 is represented solely by حَسِبَ *ḥasiba* (يَحْسِبُ *yaḥsibu*, *yaḥsabu*) 'consider'.

Note 1. The imperfect base can belong to more than one vowel class without any variation in meaning: دبغ *dabagha* (يدبغ *yadbughu*, *yadbighu*, *yadbaghu*) 'tan' (hide), نسج *nasaja* (ينسج *yansuju*, *yansiju*) 'weave'. Sometimes variation in the vowel class makes a distinction in meaning: فصل *faṣala* (يفصل *yafṣilu*) 'separate', فصل *faṣala* (يفصل *yafṣulu*) 'depart'.

Note 2. Frequently with attributive verbs, the imperfect base *u*-class can be conjoined with both *fa'ula* and *fa'ala*: شحب *shahaba* or *shahuba* (يشحب *yashhubu*) 'look sickly'.

Note 3. Not all verbs with a laryngeal or pharyngeal as second or third radical belong in the imperfect to the *a*-class: رجع *raja'a* (يرجع *yarji'u*) 'return', طلع *ṭala'a* (يطلع *yaṭlu'u*) 'rise'.

§217. a) Verb stems formed with *ta-*, namely, V, VI, and four-radical II, have the same stem form with the vowel sequence *a - a* in both perfect and imperfect: Perf. *tafa'ala* : Imperf. *ya-tafa'al-u*. See §§167 f.; 175.

b) All other derived stems have the vowel sequence *a - i* in the imperfect base: *yu-fa'il-u* (II), *ya-nfa'il-u* (VII), *ya-fanlil-u* (four-radical III), etc. Stem IV drops *a-* from the stem after the inflectional prefix: *'arsala* 'send': **yu-'arsilu* > *yursilu*. Cf. §164 ff.

§218. The final double consonant in stems IX, XI, and four-radical IV must be broken up before the supplementary suffix *-na*, beginning with a consonant, and in forms of the jussive without an ending (§208). The imperfect base is then: IX *-falil*, XI *-fālil*, four-radical IV *-falṭalil*: يحمر *yaḥmarru* 'he becomes red': يحمرن *yaḥmarirna*, يصفار *yaṣfārru* 'he turns yellow': يصفارن *yaṣfārirna*, يطمئن *yaṭma'innu* 'he becomes quiet': يطمئنن *yaṭma'nin-na*. In the jussive forms without an ending, the consonant cluster can be preserved with an auxiliary vowel (§53): يحمر *yaḥmarir* or يحمر *yaḥmarr-i*, etc.

Note 1. Stem XV imperfect *yaf'anlī* follows the category of III-weak verbs with stem final *ī* (§§250 ff.).

Passive

§219. Instead of *i/u*, *a* occurs uniformly in the imperfect base of all passive verb forms. All passive forms are inflected with the *u*-series of prefixes (§211 b): يفعل *yafa/i/ulu* : passive *yufa'alu* (I), يفتل *yufa'alu* : passive *yufa'alu* (II), يتفعل *yatafa'alu* : passive *yutafa'alu* (V), يستفعل *yastafilu* : passive *yustafalu* (X), etc.

Note 1. As a result of the dropping of prefixed *ʾa*- in stem IV, the passive of the basic stem and stem IV merge: يطمع *yutʾamu* 'He was eaten', from طعم *taʾama* (I) 'eat', or 'He was fed', from أطمع *ʾatʾama* 'feed' (IV).

Imperative

§220. a) The imperfect base without prefix functions as the imperative of the masculine singular. The feminine is marked by *-ī*, the dual by *-ā*, the plural by *-ū*, the feminine plural by *-na* : قاتل *qātala* (قاتل *yu-qāt-il-u*) 'fight': *qātīl* 'Fight!', fem. قاتلي *qātīlī*, masc. pl. قاتلوا *qātīlū*, fem. قاتلن *qātīlna*; تفكر *tafakkara* (تفكر *ya-tafakkar-u*) 'think': *tafakkar* 'Think!', fem. تفكري *tafakkarī*, masc. pl. تفكروا *tafakkarū*, fem. تفكرن *tafakkarna*. The prefix *-a* of stem IV is retained in the imperative: أرسل *ʾarsala* 'send' (يرسل *yursilu*) : أرسل *ʾarsil* 'Send!', fem. أرسلي *ʾarsilī*, masc. pl. أرسلوا *ʾarsilū*, fem. أرسلن *ʾarsilna*.

b) An auxiliary vowel (§54 b) is inserted before stems beginning with double-consonant clusters. Within a phrase, the auxiliary is dropped (§§19 ff.). The auxiliary is *u* in *u*-series of the basic stem and *i* in all other stems; أكتب *(u)ktub* 'Write!' from كتب *kataba* (يكتب *yaktubu*), افتح *(i)ftaḥ* 'Open!' from فتح *fataḥa* (يفتح *yaftaḥu*), إنزل *(i)nzil* 'Come down!' from نزل *nazala* (ينزل *yanzilu*), اعترف *(i)tarif* 'Confess!' from اعترف *(i)tarafa*, استأذن *(i)staʿdhin* 'Ask for permission!' from استأذن *(i)staʿdhana*.

Note 1. In stems IX, XI, and four-radical IV, stem-final double-consonant clusters in the imperative behave as they do in jussives (§218).

§221. a) The imperative can additionally take the energetic ending *-an* (§215): افتحن *(i)ftaḥan* 'Open up!', fem. افتحن *(i)ftaḥin*, masc. pl. افتحن *(i)ftaḥun*.

b) The imperative cannot be negated. The jussive negated with *lā* (§195 b) functions as a negative imperative (prohibition): لا تفتح *lā taftaḥ* 'Do not open!'.

Note 1. Sometimes the particle *yā* يـ occurs before the imperative: يـانـفـر *yā 'nfir* 'Up and into battle!'

§222. In combination with *bi-nā* 'with us', the imperative calls for an action: قم بنا *qum binā* 'Stand up with us!', i.e., 'Let's stand up!'; أخرجوا بنا *(u)khrujū binā* 'Go out with us!', i.e., 'Let's get out of here!'

Note 1. The jussive appears in the apodosis of an imperative phrase (§412).

Note 2. Occasionally the imperative is expressed with the imperative of كان *kāna* 'be' (§§190 ff.) in combination with the imperfect: فكن أنت تكلمهم *fa-kun 'anta tukallimuhum* 'So you speak to them!'.

Note 3. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperative is linked to a preceding emphatic clause with *fa-* (§329): بل الله فاعبد *bal-i 'l-lāha fa-'bud* (Koran 39:66) 'Rather worship God!', وفي مالنا فاحتمك *wa-fī mālinā fa-'ḥtakim* 'And with our property, proceed as you will!'.

Participles

§223. The active participle of the three-radical basic stem belongs to the morpheme category *fā'ilun*, fem. *fā'ilatun*. The corresponding passive participle has the morpheme category *maḥ'ūlun*, fem. *maḥ'ūlatun*: قاتل *qātilun*, fem. قاتلة *qātilatun* 'killing, having killed', مقتول *maqtūlun*, fem. مقتولة *maqtūlatun* 'killed, one who can (should) be killed'. Participles as a rule form inflected plurals (§§101 f.).

Note 1. See §97 on the plural *fawā'ilu* of *fā'il(at)un*, and §95.3 on the plural *maḥā'ilun* of *maḥ'ūlun*.

§224. The participles of the derived and four-radical stems are formed from the imperfect base by the addition of the prefix *mu-*. They are inflected as triptotes (§§147 ff.). All stems in the active have the vowel sequence *a - i*, in the passive *a - a*: II. مفاعل active *mufa'īlun*, passive *mufa'alun*; III. مفاعل active *mufā'ilun*, passive *mufā'alun*; IV. مفعّل active *mufa'ilun*, passive *mufa'alun*; V. متفعل active *mutafa'īlun* (!), passive

mutafaʿalun; VI. متفاعل active *mutafāʿilun*, passive *mutafāʿalun*; VII. منفعل active *munfaʿilun*, passive *munfaʿalun*; VIII. مفعّل active *muftaʿilun*, passive *muftaʿalun*; X. مستفعل active *mustafʿilun*, passive *mustafʿalun*; four-radical I. مفعّل active *mufaʿl₃il₄un*, passive *mufaʿl₃al₄un*; II. متفعل active *mutafaʿl₃il₄un*, passive *mutafaʿl₃al₄un*; III. مفعّل active *mufaʿnl₃il₄un*, passive *mufaʿnl₃al₄un*; IV. مفعّل active *mufaʿl₃ill₄un*, passive *mufaʿl₃all₄un*.

Note 1. Stems IX and XI form only active participles مفعّل *mufallun*, مفعّل *mufāllun*.

Verbal Substantives

§225. The verbal substantive is formed from the perfect base. Where the perfect base exhibits the vowel sequence *a - a*, the verbal substantive has *i - ā*. The triptotic inflectional endings (§§147 ff.) attach to the stem. I. *faʿala* : *fiʿālun*, e.g., حسب *ḥasaba* 'reckon' : حساب *ḥisābun*, شفى *shafā* 'cure' : شفاء *shifāʿun* (§257 b). This form of the verbal substantive occurs infrequently in the basic stem. Most often the morpheme category *faʿlun* and other categories (§§228 f.) are used.

Note 1. In addition to *fiʿālun*, *faʿālun* occurs: هلك *halaka* 'perish' : هلاك *halākun*, فسد *fasada* 'spoil' : فساد *fasādun*. Without an ending, **faʿāl* > *faʿālī* (§53.2) in pre-classical Arabic is used as a command form: نزال *nazālī* 'Come down!', سماع *samāʿi* 'Listen!' and as a proper name: كساب *Kasābi* 'Fetch!' (a dog's name).

II. *faʿala* : *fiʿālun*, very rare, e.g., كذب *kadhḏaba* 'call a liar' : كذاب *kidhḏhābun*. Instead of this form, *tafʿilun* (§231) is regularly used in form II for the verbal substantive.

III. *fāʿala* : *fiʿālun* (instead of **fīʿālun*): قاتل *qātala* 'fight' : قتال *qitālun*.

Note 2. Because of the semantic ambiguity of the morpheme category *fiʿālun*, the feminine passive participle frequently occurs as a verbal substantive: جادل *jādala* 'quarrel' : مجادلة *mujādalatun* (cf. §230.1).

IV. *ʾafala* : *ʾifālun*: أكمل *akmala* 'complete': إكمال *ikmālun*.

VII. *(i)nfaʿala*: انفعال *(i)nfiʿālun*.

VIII. (ʔi)ftaʔala: افتعال (ʔi)ftiʔālun.

IX. (ʔi)fʔalla: افعلال (ʔi)fʔilālun.

X. (ʔi)stafʔala: استفعال (ʔi)stifiʔālun.

XI. (ʔi)fʔālla: افعيلا (ʔi)fʔilālun.

XII. (ʔi)fʔawʔala: افعيعال (ʔi)fʔiʔālun.

XIII. (ʔi)fʔawwala: افعوال (ʔi)fʔiwwālun.

XIV. (ʔi)fʔanlala: افعنلال (ʔi)fʔinlālun.

XV. (ʔi)fʔanlā: افعنلاء (ʔi)fʔinlāʔun.

§226. Four-radical verbal substantives have the same formation pattern: faʔl₃al₄a : fʔl₃āl₄un: زلزلة zalzala 'shake' : زلزلة zilzālun. More often the morpheme category faʔl₃al₄atun (§75.1) occurs instead.

Note 1. Four-radical faʔl₃āl₄un: زلزلة zalzālun corresponds to the morpheme category faʔālun (§225.1).

III. (ʔi)fʔanl₃al₄a: افعنلال (ʔi)fʔinl₃āl₄un.

IV. (ʔi)fʔal₃all₄a: افعللال (ʔi)fʔil₃āl₄un.

Note 2. fʔal₃l₄āl₄atun occurs also in form IV of four-radical stems: اطمأن (ʔi)tmaʔanna 'become calm' : طمأنينة tumānīnatun = اطمئنان (ʔi)tmaʔnānūn.

§227. Verbal stems formed with ta-prefix change the last a of the perfect base to u in verbal substantives:

V. tafaʔʔala: تفعل tafaʔʔulun.

VI. tafāʔala: تفاعل tafāʔulun.

II. four-radical tafaʔl₃al₄a: تفعلل tafaʔl₃ul₄un.

Note 1. A verbal substantive of stem V tifiʔālun, which is formed on the fiʔālun model, is occasionally attested: تملق tamallaqa 'flatter' : تملاق timillāqun.

§228. In the basic stem, abstract substantives of various morpheme categories occur as verbal substantives. The following classes occur commonly:

fa'ala : *fa'lun*, e.g.: لمس *lamasa* 'touch' : لمس *lamsun*.

fa'ila : *fa'alun*, e.g.: كدر *kadira* 'be turbid' : كدر *kadarun*.

fa'ula : *fa'ālatun*, e.g.: رذل *radhula* 'be lowly, common' : رذالة *radhālatun*.

fa'l₃al₄a : *fa'l₃al₄atun*, e.g.: قلقل *qalqala* 'disturb' : قلقلات *qalqalatun*.

Note 1. In roots with *r*, *l*, *h*, *h*, *gh*, ' as the second radical, *fa'lun* frequently becomes *fa'alun*, more rarely *fa'ilun*, with the addition of a secondary vowel (§38): طلب *ṭalaba* 'seek' : طلب *ṭalabun* (rather than **ṭalbun*).

§229. In addition to the verbal substantives cited thus far, numerous other morpheme categories occur in the basic stem. As verbal substantives they are typically associated with specific semantic groups. The most important types are:

fu'ūlun, motion: دخل *dakhala* 'enter' : دخول *dukhūlun*, جلس *jalasa* 'sit up' : جلوس *julūsun*.

fa'ilun, sound and motion: صفر *ṣafara* 'whistle' : صفير *ṣafirun*, رحل *raḥala* 'depart' : رحيل *raḥilun*.

fu'ālun, sound: سأل *sa'ala* 'ask' : سؤال *su'ālun*, نبح *nabaḥa* 'bark' : نباح *nubāḥun*.

fu'ūlatun, attribution: صعب *ṣa'uba* 'be difficult' : صعوبة *ṣu'ūbatun*, سهل *sahula* 'be easy' : سهولة *suhūlatun*.

fa'alānun, repetition: خفق *khafaqa* 'flutter' : خفقان *khafaqānun*, سجم *sajama* 'shed (tears)' : سجمان *sajamānun*.

fi'lun, remembering: حفظ *ḥafiẓa* 'preserve, retain in memory' : حفظ *ḥifẓun*, علم *'alima* 'know' : علم *'ilmun*.

Other morpheme categories that occur as verbal substantives are: فعل *fu'lun*, فعْلان *fi'lānun*, فُعْلان *fu'lānun*, فعول *fa'ūlun*, فعالة *fi'ālatun*.

§230. Morpheme categories formed with *ma-* prefix (§78) frequently function as verbal substantives: *maʿālun*, *maʿīlun*, *maʿālatun*, *maʿīlatun*, *maʿfulatun*, e.g., حمل *ḥamala* 'carry' : حمل *maḥmalun*, قرب *qaruba* 'be near' : مقربة *maqrabatun*, maqrubatun, عرف *ʿarafa* 'recognize' : معرفة *marifatun*, قدر *qadara* 'possess power' : مقدرة *maqdaratun*, maqdiratun, maqduratun. In the derived verbal stems, the passive participle (§224) also assumes the function of the verbal substantive: أقدم *ʾaqdama* 'go forward' : مقدم *muqdamun*, انصرف *(ʾi)nṣarafa* 'turn away' : منصرف *munṣarafun*.

Note 1. As a rule, in verbal stem III, the feminine singular passive participle is used as a verbal substantive rather than the masculine singular passive participle: خاطب *khāṭaba* 'address' : مخاطبة *mukhāṭabatun*. In pre-classical Arabic, the passive participle of the basic stem is sometimes used also as a verbal substantive: رد *radda* 'send back' (§233) : مردود *mardūdun*.

§231. Verbal substantives formed with prefixed *ta-/ti-/tu-* are intensive in meaning:

tafālun from the basic stem: طلب *ṭalaba* 'seek' : تطلب *taṭlābun* '(intensive) search'.

tafīlun, regularly the verbal substantive of form II: علم *ʿallama* 'teach': تعلم *taʿlīmun*.

Note 1. In III-weak verbs, *tafīlatun* (§257.2) replaces *tafīlun*. On occasion, *tafīlatun* also occurs with other types of roots: جرب *jarraba* 'test' : تجربة *tajribatun*. cf. also §237.3.

Note 2. Other morpheme categories formed with *ta-/ti-/tu-* occur only rarely: تفاعل *tifālun*, تفاعلة *tifālatun*, تفاعل *tafāilun*, تفعلة *tafūlatun*, tufūlatun. See also §240.3.

Nouns Expressing a Single Action (*Nomen Vicis*)

§232. *faʿlun*, etc., with the feminine ending *-at* (cf. §84) indicates an action taken once: ضرب *ḍarbun* 'striking': ضربة *ḍarbatun* 'one strike, blow', جلوس *julūsun* 'sitting': جلسة *jalsatun* 'a sitting (court)'. This kind of formation is quite rare in other morpheme categories: تكبير *takbīratun* 'one cry of *Allāhu akbar*' from تكبير *takbīrun* (verbal substantive form II).

Note 1. The *nomen vicis* is also used in the dual and plural: ضربتان *ḍarbatāni* 'two blows', ضربات *ḍarabātun* 'several blows' (§105 a).

II-Geminate Verbs (*Verba mediae geminatae*)

§233. a) The two like radicals of verbs with identical second and third radicals form a geminate group, unless syllabification requirements break it up (§50.2). The morphologically conditioned vowel between the second and third radicals is omitted if a morpheme vowel precedes: رَدَّ *radda* 'return' = *faʿala*, رَدُّوا *raddū* = *faʿalū*, رَادَّوا *rāddun* = *fāʿilun*. The vowel precedes the geminate group if no morpheme vowel precedes: يَرُدُّ *yaruddu* = *yafʿulu*, أَحَبَّ *aḥabba* (يُحِبُّ *yuhibbu*) 'love' = *ʿafʿala* (*yufʿilu*), stem IV.

Note 1. In stems III and VI and in the participle *fāʿilun*, forms based on three-radical root patterns occasionally occur: تَشَادَّدَ *tashādada* and تَشَادَّدُوا *tashādaddu* 'argue with one another', فَارَرَّ *fārirun* and فَارَرُّوا *fārrun* 'fleeing'.

Note 2. In certain cases, stem I *faʿila* and *faʿula* attributive verbs can be formed as three-radical roots: قَطَطَ *qaṭṭa* 'be curly-haired', لَبَّ *labba* and لَبَّ *labba* 'be sensible'.

Note 3. Observe in the imperfect of stems VII, VIII, and X the inconsistent behavior of the stem vowel: انْرَدَّ (يَنْرَدُّ) *nradda* (يَنْرَدُّ *yanraddu*) = (يَنْ) *nfaʿala* (*yanfaʿilu*), ارْتَدَّ (يَرْتَدُّ) *rtadda* (يَرْتَدُّ *yartaddu*) = (يَرْ) *ftaʿala* (*yafʿaru*), اسْتَرَدَّ (يَسْتَرَدُّ) *staradda* (يَسْتَرَدُّ *yastaraddu*) = (يَسْتَر) *staʿala* (*yastaʿaru*).

b) In stems II and V, II-geminate roots are treated as three-radical roots: رَدَّدَ *raddada* (يُرَدِّدُ *yuraddidu*) 'repel', تَرَدَّدَ *taraddada* (يَتَرَدَّدُ *yataraddadu*) 'be repelled'.

Note 4. In pre-classical Arabic, analogical formations from III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.) occur on occasion: تَظَنَّتْ *tazannaytu* 'I thought' instead of تَظَنَّتْ *tazannantu*, verbal substantive تَظَنَّ *tazannin* instead of تَظَنَّ *tazannunun*.

§234. Syllable structure breaks up the geminate group if it is not followed by a vowel. Accordingly, morphologically conditioned forms occur before consonantal endings: رَدَّ *radda* 'return' : رَدَّدَتْ *radaddtu*, شَمَّ *shamma* 'smell' : شَمَّمَتْ *shammimtu* or شَمَّامَتْ *shamamtu*, أَحَبَّ *aḥabba* 'love' : أَحَبَّبَتْ *aḥabbatu* (IV), اغْتَمَّ *ghatamma* 'be distressed' : اغْتَمَّمَتْ *yaghtamimna* (VIII).

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the geminate group before a consonant suffix in the perfect could be simplified: ظَلَّ *zalla* 'remain' : ظَلَّتْ *zaltu* or ظَلَّتْ *ziltu* along with ظَلَّلَتْ *zalliltu*, أَحَسَّ *aḥassa* 'feel' : أَحَسَّتْ *aḥastu* as well as أَحَسَّتْ *aḥsastu* (IV).

Note 2. On rare occasion, analogical formations from the III-weak verb occur: قَصَّ *qaṣṣa* : قَصَّيْتُ *qaṣṣaytu* rather than قَصَصْتُ *qaṣaṣtu*, أَحَسَّ *aḥassa* : أَحَسَيْتُ *aḥsaytu* instead of أَحَسَّتْ *aḥsastu*.

§235. In forms of the prefix conjugation and the imperative that do not have endings, the geminate group is preserved when an auxiliary vowel (§53) is inserted. Otherwise, morphologically conditioned forms occur. Either possibility may occur: Jussive يَرُدُّ *yarudd-i* (-a/u) or يَرُدُّ *yardud*, يُحِبُّ *yuhibb-i* (-a) or يُحِبُّ *yuhbib*, imperative رُدِّ *rudd-i* (-a/u) or رُدِّ *rdud*, أَحِبِّ *aḥibb-i* (-a) or أَحِبِّ *aḥbib*.

§236. Nominal morpheme categories are likewise treated according to the rules cited in §50. Observe the verbal substantive تَسَرُّة *tasirratun* from سَرَّ *sarra* = تَفِيلَاتُنْ *tafilatun* 'be happy', مَذَمَّة *madhammatun* from ذَمَّ *dhamma* 'blame' = مَفَالَاتُنْ *mafalatun*. Should a long vowel appear between the second and third radicals, II-geminate roots are treated as three-radical roots: قَرَّار *qarārun* from قَرَّ *qarra* 'dwell', تَنَانُنْ *tanānun* from أَنْ *anna* 'groan'. The same is true for verbal substantives of the derived verb stems: تَرَدَّدُ *tardādun* (II), رَدَدَ *ridādun* (III), إِرَدَدَ *irdādun* (IV), اِنْرَدَدَ *nridādun* (VII), etc.

Note 1. Frequently, *faʿlun* with the preservation of the geminate group occurs alongside *faʿalun* (§50): بَحَّ *baḥḥun* and بَحَّ *baḥaḥun* from بَحَّ *baḥḥa* 'be hoarse'.

Verbs with Weak Radicals

Verbs with *hamzah*

§237. Verbs from roots with ʾ (*hamzah*) as the first, second, or third radical for the most part exhibit no variation from the inflectional forms of the three-radical verb. In verbs with I-ʾ the rule of dissimilation of the sequence ʾ— (§40) is in effect for the 1st. sg. imperfect of stems I and IV and for perfect and verbal substantive of stem IV: أذن *ʾadhina* 'allow': imperfect 1st. sg. أذن *ʾadḥanu*, but يأذن *yaʾdḥanu*; stem IV: آمن *āmana* < ʾaʿmana 'believe', imperfect 1st. sg. أومن *ūminu*, but يؤمن *yūminu*, verbal substantive إيمان *īmānun* < ʾīmānun.

Note 1. Forms beginning with *alif al-waṣl* (§§19 ff.) undergo dissimilation only in initial position forms. See §40.1. Note the spelling of imperative forms after و *wa-* and ف *fa-*: أوجر *ājur* (< (ʾ)jur) 'reward!': وأجر *wa-jur*, أيتلف *italif* (< (ʾ)talif) 'unite!': وأتلف or أتلف *wa-talif*.

Note 2. See §§247.1; 41 concerning dissimilation of ʾ— in II-weak verbs with ʾ as the first or third radical.

Note 3. In non-classical Arabic, III-ʾ verbs usually merge with III-weak verbs. Non-classical forms sometimes enter classical texts, e.g., نبّى *nabbā* (ينبّي *yunabbī*) in place of نبأ *nabba* (ينبئ *yunabbī*) 'inform'. In such cases, the verbal substantive *tafīlatun* (§257.2) is written in a classicizing manner with ʾ: *tanbīʾatun* = *tanbiyatun*.

§238. I-ʾ verbs exhibit the following alternative formations: The imperatives of أخذ *akhadha* 'take', أكل *akala* 'eat', أمر *amara* 'order' are: خذ *khudh*, كل *kul*, مر *mur*. أخذ *akhadha* forms verbal stem VIII like I-*w* verbs (§242 b): اتخذ *ittakhadha* 'assume'. In addition to إيتزر *itazara* ((ʾ)itazara §40.1) 'wrap oneself in an *izār*', اتزر *ittazara* also occurs.

Note 1. A three-radical imperative form of أمر *amara* also occurs after و *wa-*: وأمر *wa-mur*, in addition to ومر *wa-mur* 'and order!'.

§239. *Hamzah* in the very frequently occurring verbs سأل *sa'ala* 'ask' and رأى *ra'a* 'see, look' is elided:

a) *sa'ala*: Imperative سل *sal*, fem. سلی *salī* and regular اسأل *s'al*, jussive یسل *yasal* and یسأل *yas'al*.

b) *ra'a* (§42) in the prefix conjugation: أرى *arā*, یرى *yarā*, jussive یر *yara*, imperative ره *rah* (§240 b), fem. ری *ray*, pl. روا *raw*, fem. رین *rayna*; also, in all forms of verbal stem IV: perfect أرى *arā* 'show', passive أرى *uriya*, imperfect یری *yurī*, jussive یر *yuri*, imperative أر *ari*; imperfect passive (stems I and IV) یری *yurā*. The inflection follows otherwise that of III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.). See the paradigms, p. 245.

Note 1. In poetry, forms like یرأى *yarā* are occasionally encountered. Conversely, ' can more often be found elided. Note cases like سال *sāla* 'he asked' < *sa'ala*.

Note 2. Of **al'aka* 'send', only the imperative ألك *alik* < **abik* exists.

Note 3. All other verbs with ' exhibit stable ' in classical Arabic, e.g., وأی *wa'a* (یاى *ya'ī*, 1st. sing. أئی *a'ī*) 'promise' (§240 b).

I-Weak Verbs (*Verba primae infirmae*)

§240. a) In the basic stem, most I-*w* verbs form the imperfect base (active) without *w*: وجد *wajada* 'find': یجد *ya-jid-u*, وضع *wada'a* 'put down': یضع *ya-ḍa'-u*, وطئ *waṭ'a* 'step': یطأ *ya-ṭa'-u*, وثق *wathiq'a* 'rely': یثق *ya-thiq-u*. Otherwise, the inflection corresponds to that of three-radical verbs. See paradigms, p. 244.

Note 1. The imperfect passive is formed from the *w* stem: یوجد *yūjadu* (= *yuwjadu*) 'he is found'.

Note 2. ودع *wada'a* (یدع *yada'u*) 'let' usually occurs only in the prefix conjugation: Jussive یدع *yada'*, imperative دع *da'*. Thus, یدر *yadharu*, which is found exclusively in the prefix conjugation, jussive یدر *yadhar*, imperative ذر *dhar*, is classed as if it belonged to a root **w-dh-r*. The imperative عم *im*, which occurs in the formula عم صباحا *im ṣabāḥan* 'Good morning!', is actually an abbreviation of أنعم صباحا *an'im ṣabāḥan* (root *n-ʿ-m*).

b) Some verbs are both I-*w* and III-*y*: وقى *waqā* 'guard' : imperfect يقي *yaqī*, jussive يق *yaqī*; ولي *waliya* 'be near', imperfect يلي *yali*, jussive يل *yali*. To avoid the short forms *qi*, *li*, the imperative of such verbs always appears in the pausal form (§55): قه *qih*, له *lih*; but feminine قي *qī*, لي *lī*, etc. Otherwise, they are inflected like III-*y* verbs (§§250 ff.).

c) The imperfect base without *w* is used to form verbal substantives: ثقة *thiqatun* from وثق *wathīqa* (يثق *yathīqu*) 'rely', سعة *sa'atun* from وسع *wasī'a* (يسع *yasa'u*) 'be wide', شية *shiyatun* from وشى *washā* (يشي *yashī*) 'embellish'.

Note 3. In some verbal substantives, *tu-* appears in place of *w*: تراث *turāthun* 'inheritance' from ورث *waritha* (يرث *yarithu*) 'inherit', تخمة *tukhamatun* 'indigestion' from وخم *wakhīma* (يخم *yakhīmu*) 'suffer from indigestion'.

§241. A few verbs in the category *fa'ila* and all in the category *fa'ula* preserve *w* in the imperfect: وجل *wajila* 'be afraid' : يوجل *yawjalu*, وضو *waḍwa* 'be pure' : يوضو *yawḍuru*. According to §33 a, the imperative becomes إجل *ījal* < $*(i)wjal$.

Note 1. Some I-*w* verbs have both types of imperfect: وحم *waḥima* 'have a craving' : يحم *yaḥimu* or يوحم *yawḥamu*.

Note 2. All I-*w*/II-geminate verbs have stable *w*: ودّ *wadda* 'like' : imperfect يودّ *yawaddu*, jussive يودّ *yawadd-i* or يودد *yawdad*, imperative ودّ *wadd-i* or إدد *īdad* < $*(i)wdad$.

Note 3. $*tiw$ became $tī$ with the *i*-series of the personal prefixes (§211.2): تيجل *tījalu* 'You are afraid'. When such forms make their way into literature, their vocalization is frequently classicized: تيجل *tayjalu*. Isolated occurrences of the pre-classical imperfect type ياجل *yājalu* are attested.

§242. a) The derived verbal stems are formed like three-radical verbs. When the sequence *iw* occurs, it must become *iy* = \bar{i} : أوقع *awqā'a* (يوقع *yūqi'u* = *yuwqi'u*) 'let fall': Verbal substantive إيقاع *īqā'un* (IV), استودع (i) *stawda'a* (يستودع *yastawdi'u*) 'deposit': Verbal substantive استيداع (i) *stīdā'un* (X), $*(i)wraqqa$ > إيرق *īraqqa* (يورق *yawraqqu*) 'turn ashen' (IX).

b) In verbal stem VIII, *tt* replaces **wt*:- اتسع (ʔi) *ttasaʿa* 'expand' (يتسع *yattasiʿu*) (root *w-s-ʿ*), اتفق (ʔi) *ttafaqa* (يتفق *yattafiqu*) 'agree' (root *w-f-q*).

Note 1. See §238 concerning اتخذ (ʔi) *ttakhadhā* (root ʔ-*kh-dh*) and اترز (ʔi) *ttazara* (root ʔ-*z-r*).

Note 2. In the basic stem, back-formations with *I-t* from verbal stem VIII can occur: اتقى *taqā* (يتقى *yatqī*) 'be pious' from اتقى (ʔi) *ttaqā* 'fear (God)' (root *w-q-y*).

§243. *I-y* verbs are inflected like three-radical verbs: يقظ *yaqiza* 'be awake' : imperfect ييقظ *yayqazu*. The sequence *uy* must become *uw* = *ū* (§33 b): أيقظ *ayqaza* 'wake up' : imperfect يوقظ *yūqizu*, passive يوقظ *yūqazu*, verbal substantive إيقاظ *īqāzun* (IV). Stem VIII of the root *y-s-r* is formed as if it were a *I-w* root: أترس (ʔi) *ttasara* (يترس *yattasiru*) 'draw lots'.

II-Weak Verbs (*Verba mediae infirmae*)

§244. Verbs with II-*w* and -*y* have a long vowel in place of the second radical. In the basic stem there are three classes of vowels:

II - *w* { 1. قام *qāma* 'stand', 1st sg. قمت *qumtu* : imperf. يقوم *yaqūmu*
2. نام *nāma* 'sleep', 1st sg. نمت *nimtu* : imperf. ينام *yanāmu*

II - *y* { 1. حار *hāra* 'confused', 1st sg. حرت *hirtu* : imperf. يحار *yaḥāru*
3. صار *šāra* 'become', 1st sg. صرت *širtu* : imperf. يصير *yašīru*

The perfect base exhibits the vowel alternation *ā* : *u/i*, which occurs only in the basic stem. Stems with long vowels (*ā*) occur before vocalic inflectional suffixes: قام *qāma*, قامت *qāmat*, قاما *qāmā*, قامتا *qāmatā*, قاموا *qāmū*. Stems with short vowels (*qum-*, *nim-*, *ḥir-*, *šir-*) occur before consonantal suffixes: قمت *qumta*, نمت *nimtum*, حرنا *ḥirna*, صرن *širna*, etc. In the prefix conjugation, the long vowel stem also occurs before vocalic endings: يقومون *yaqūmūna*, يصير *yašīra*, etc. The stem vowel is shortened (§52) before the consonantal ending -*na* (fem. pl.) and in forms without endings (jussive, imperative): يقمن *yaqumna*, ينمن *yanamna*, يحرن *yaḥarna*, يصرن *yisrūna*.

yaşırna, قَم qum, نَم nam, حر har, صر şir, but feminine قومي qūmī, نامي nāmī, etc. See the paradigms, pp. 246 ff.

Note 1. In addition to jussive يَكُن yakun from كَانَ kāna (يَكُونُ yakūnu) ‘be’, there is a short form يَك yaku, which, however, cannot be used before the article (ʾa)- (§142).

Note 2. مات māta (يَمُوتُ yamūtu) ‘die’ has a short-vowel perfect base mit- and mut-: مِت mitta or مُت mutta.

Note 3. اِخَالَ ikhālu (only in the 1st sing.) from خَالَ khāla (يَخَالُ yakhālu) ‘fancy, believe’ originates from a dialect variant *i*-series of personal prefixes (§211.2).

§245. a) In the derived verbal stems with long vowels, there is no difference between II-*w* and II-*y*. There is no vowel alternation in the perfect base:

IV:	perf.	أَقَامَ ʾaqāma	1st sing.	أَقَمْتُ ʾaqamtu
	imperf.	يُقِيمُ yuqīmu	imperat.	أَقِم ʾaqim
X:	perf.	اسْتَقَامَ (ʾi)staqāma	1st sing.	اسْتَقَمْتُ (ʾi)staqamtu
	imperf.	يَسْتَقِيمُ yastaqīmu	imperat.	اسْتَقِم (ʾi)staqim
VII:	perf.	انْقَامَ (ʾi)nqāma	1st sing.	انْقَمْتُ (ʾi)nqamtu
	imperf.	يَنْقَامُ yanqāmu	imperat.	انْقِم (ʾi)nqam
VIII:	perf.	اِقْتَامَ (ʾi)qtāma	1st sing.	اِقْتَمْتُ (ʾi)qtamtu
	imperf.	يَقْتَامُ yaqtāmu	imperat.	اِقْتِم (ʾi)qtam

Note 1. The distribution of vowels in the imperfect base conforms to that of the corresponding stems of II-geminate verbs (§233.3).

Note 2. See §49 b concerning اسْطَاعَ (ʾi)stāʿa (يَسْطِيعُ yastīʿu) ‘be in a position to’ in addition to اسْتَطَاعَ (ʾi)staṭāʿa and اسْطَالَ (ʾi)stāla (يَسْطِيلُ yastīlu) ‘become long’ in addition to اسْتَطَالَ (ʾi)staṭāla.

b) In verbal stems II, III, V, VI, and IX, *w* and *y* behave like consonants: قَوَّمَ qawwama (يُقَوِّمُ yuqawwimu) ‘set right’, صَيَّرَ šayyara (يُصَيِّرُ yuṣayyiru) ‘induce’ (II); قَاوَمَ qāwama (يُقَاوِمُ yuqāwimu) ‘resist’, لَآيَنَ lā-yana (يُلَآيِنُ yulāyinu) ‘treat with kindness’ (III), etc.; اَسْوَدَّ (ʾi)swadda (يَسْوَدُّ yaswaddu) ‘become black’, اَبْيَضَّ (ʾi)byaḍḍa (يَبْيِضُّ yabyaḍḍu) ‘become white’ (IX). The inflection corresponds to that of three-radical “strong” verbs.

Note 3. Formations with consonantal *w* or *y* also exist in other verbal stems. They are regularly denominal in origin: عوج *awija* (يعوج *ya'waju*) 'be crooked' (I), أحوج *aḥwaja* (يُحوج *yuhwiḥju*) 'require' (IV), استصوب *(i)staṣwaba* (يستصوب *yastaṣwibu*) 'approve of' (X). Cf. §68.1.

§246. By analogy with *fuṣila* : *yufaḥlu*, the passive of long vowel stems has *ī/i* in the perfect base and *ā/a* in the imperfect base: قيم *qīma* (يقام *yūqāmu*), نيم *nīma* (ينام *yunāmu*), صير *ṣīra* (يُصَار *yūṣāru*), jussive يقم *yūqam*, etc. The prefixed morphemes in the perfect are taken from the *u* of *fuṣila*: أقيم *uqīma* (يقام *yūqāmu*) IV, أنقيد *(u)nqīda* ينقاد *yunqādu* VII, استقيم *(u)stuqīma* (يستقام *yustaqāmu*) X.

Note 1. Verbal stems II, III, V, VI form the passive as three-radical morpheme categories (§§210; 219): قَوِّم *quwwima*, قُوِّم *qūwima* (§28.2), تَقَوِّم *tuquwwima*, تَقُوِّم *tuqūwima*.

Note 2. Instead of *(u)nqīda*, *(u)qtīda* with auxiliary vowel *u* in verbal stems VII and VIII, the auxiliary vowel can be *i*: *(i)nqīda*, *(i)qtīda*.

Note 3. In poetry, non-classical perfect forms with *ū/u* instead of *ī/i* occasionally occur: قول *qūla*, 'was said', اختور *(u)khtūra* 'was chosen' (VIII of root *kh-y-r*).

§247. a) The active participle (§223) has the morpheme sequence *ā-i*, with *ī* in between, in place of the stem vowel: قائم *qā'imun*, نائم *nā'imun*, حائر *ḥā-irun*, صائر *ṣā'irun*. In the passive participle, which has *ma-* (§223) prefixed to the stem, the stem vowel varies — it is *ū* in II-*w* verbs and *ī* in II-*y* verbs: مقود *maqūdun* from قاد *qāda* (يقود *yaqūdu*) 'lead', مخوف *makhūfun* from خاف *khāfa* (يخاف *yakhāfu*) 'fear', مبيع *mabī'un* from باع *bā'a* (يبيع *yabī'u*) 'sell'.

Note 1. In I- and III-*y* verbs, the *ī* sequence in the active participle is dissimilated (§41): آيب *āyibun* from آب *āba* (يؤوب *ya'ūbu*) 'return', جاء *jā'in* (< **jā'iyun* < **jā'ī'un*) from جاء *jā'a* (يجي *yajī'u*) 'come'.

Note 2. In II-*y* verbs, the passive participle *maf'ūlun* appears occasionally with consonantal *y*: مبيوع *mabyū'un* 'sold'.

b) In the derived stems, participles are formed according to §224 from the imperfect base: مقوم *muqawwimun*, *muqawwamun* (II), مقيم *muqīmun*, مقام *muqāmun* (IV), منقام *munqāmun* (VII, active and passive!), etc.

§248. a) Radical *w* and *y* appear in verbal substantives *fa'ālun*, *fa'latun*: قود *qawdun*, نوم *nawmun*, خوف *khawfun*, حيرة *hayratun*, صير *sayrun*.

Note 1. *fayhūlatun* is a morpheme category that occurs only in II-weak roots as a verbal substantive of the basic stem: ديمومة *daymūmatun* from دام *dāma* (يدوم *yadūmu*) 'last', بينونة *baynūnatun* from بان *bāna* (يبين *yabīnu*) 'part, separate'.

b) Verbal substantive *fi'ālun* of II-*w* roots also has *y* as the second radical (§33 a): قيام *qiyāmun*, نيام *niyāmun*. By analogy, verbal substantives of stems VII and VIII follow the same pattern: انقيام *(i)nqiyāmun*, اقيام *(i)qtiyāmun*. In verb stems IV and X, the morpheme pattern *i-ā* is distributed over prefix and stem, to which, in addition, the feminine ending *-atun* is attached: إقامة *iqāmaturun*, استقامة *(i)stiqāmaturun*.

Note 2. Rarely occurring are verbal substantives of stems IV and X lacking *-atun*: إقام *iqāmun*, استقام *(i)stiqāmun*.

Note 3. Verbal substantives formed with prefixed *ma-* (§230) have the stem vowel *ā*, or frequently with II-*y* roots, *ī*: ملام *malāmun*, ملامة *malāmaturun* from لام *lāma* (يلوم *yalūmu*) 'blame', معاش *ma'āshun*, معيش *ma'īshun*, معيشة *ma'īshaturun* from عاش *āsha* (يعيش *ya'īshu*) 'live'.

c) Verb stems with consonantal *w* or *y* form verbal substantives according to the three-radical morpheme category: تقويم *taqwīmun*, تصيير *taṣyīrun* (II), قوام *qiwāmun* (III), تقوم *taqawwumun* (V), اسوداد *(i)swidādun*, ايضاض *(i)byiḍādun* (IX).

Note 4. Note the distinction: *qiyāmun* = *fi'ālun* from the basic stem and *qiwāmun* = *fi'ālun* from verb stem III.

§249. هراق *harāqa* 'pour, shed' (§178 b) is inflected in the following manner: Perf. 1st sing. هرقت *haraqtu*, pass. هريق *hurīqa*, هريقت *huriqtu*; imperf. يهرق *yuharīqu*, يهرق *yuhriqu*, juss. يهرق *yuhriq*, pass. يهرق *yuharāqu*, يهرق *yuhraqu*; active part. مهرق *muharīqun*, مهرق *muhriqun*, pass. مهرق *muharāqun*,

muhrāqun; verbal substantive هِرَاقَة *hirāqatun*, إِهْرَاقَة *ihrāqatun*. Derived from the latter form are the secondary perfect forms: أَهْرَاقَ *ahrāqa*, pass. أَهْرِيقَ *uhrīqa*.

III-Weak Verbs (*Verba tertiae infirmae*)

§250. III-*w* and -*y* verbs have a long vowel in place of the third radical. The six classes of vowel combinations of the basic stem correspond to those of the three-radical verb (§216):

1. *fa'ala* — *yaf'ulu*: دَعَا *da'ā* — يَدْعُو *yad'ū* 'call' (§10) III-*w*
2. *fa'ala* — *yaf'ilu*: رَمَى *ramā* — يَرْمِي *yarmī* 'throw' III-*y*
3. *fa'ala* — *yaf'alu*: سَعَى *sa'ā* — يَسْعَى *yas'ā* 'run' III-*y*
4. *fa'ila* — *yaf'alu*: لَقِيَ *laqiya* — يَلْقَى *yalqā* 'meet' III-*y*
5. *fa'ula* — *yaf'ulu*: سَرَوْا *saruwa* — يَسْرُونَ *yasrū* 'be noble' III-*w*
6. *fa'ila* — *yaf'ilu*: وَلِيَ *waliya* — يَلِي *yalī* 'be near' (§240 b) III-*y*

§251. The derived verb stems, except for stems V and VI, which belong to the third class, belong to the second class: غَنَى *ghannā* (يَغْنَى *yughannī*) 'sing' (II), لَاقَى *lāqā* (يَلْقَى *yalqā*) 'meet' (III), أَهْدَى *ahdā* (يُهْدِي *yuhdī*) 'give' (IV), تَلَقَّى *talaqqā* (يَتَلَقَّى *yatalaqqā*) 'receive' (V), تَلَاقَى *talāqā* (يَتَلَاقَى *yatalāqā*) 'get together' (VI), انْجَلَى *anjalā* (يَنْجَلِي *yanjalī*) 'reveal oneself' (VII), اتَّقَى *ltaqā* (يَتَّقَى *yaltaqī*) 'meet' (VIII), اسْتَوَى *stawlā* (يَسْتَوِي *yastawī*) 'take possession of' (X), احْلَوَى *hlawlā* (يَحْلَوِي *yahlawī*) 'be sweet' (XII).

Note 1. There are no verb stems IX or XI. Instead, there are occasional alternative formations (§178 a): ارْعَوْا *ar'awā* (يَرْعَوِي *yar'awī*) 'watch'.

Note 2. Verb stem XV (يَفْأَلِي *yaf'ālī*) is inflected according the second class (§173).

Note 3. Four-radical verb stems of IV-weak verbs correspond to three-radical derived stems: سَلَقَى *salqā* (يُسَلِقِي *yusalqī*) (§162.3) 'overturn' (I), تَسَلَقَى *tasalqā* (يَتَسَلِقِي *yatasalqā*) 'fall onto the back' (II), اسْلَنَقَى *slanqā* (يَسْلَنَقِي *yaslanqī*) 'fall onto the back' (III).

§252. The vocalic stem ending undergoes complex variation (cf. §§34; 35 a) as a result of the addition of inflectional suffixes:

a) *u* and *i* merge into the stem vowel, while *a* merges only into *-ā*, but not into *-ū* and *-ī*: subjunctive يرمي *yarmiya*, يدعو *yad'uwa*, but يلقى *yalqā*. 3rd pers. fem. sing. **-āt* must be shortened: رمت *ramat*, دعت *da'at*, but لاقيت *laqiyat*, سروت *saruwat*; by analogy, 3rd dual fem. رمتا *ramatā*, دعتا *da'atā*, لاقيتا *laqiyatā*, سروتا *saruwatā*.

b) Before consonantal suffixes and before *-ā* (*-āni*), the stem ending is treated consonantly: *ī* = *iy*, *ū* = *uw*, *ā* becomes *ay* or *aw*, depending on whether the root is III-*y* or III-*w*: perf. رमित *ramayta*, *-ti*, *-tu*, etc., دعونا *da'awnā*, دعون *da'awna*; لقيت *laqīta* (= *laqiyta*), سروت *sarūta* (= *saruwta*); imperf. fem. pl. يرمين *yarmīna* (= *yarmiy-na*), يدعون *yad'ūna* (= *yad'uw-na*), يلقيين *yalqayna*; dual رميا *ramayā*, دعوا *da'awā*, لاقيا *laqiyā*, سروا *saruwā*; يرميان *yarmiyāni*, يدعوان *yad'uwāni*, يلقيان *yalqayāni*.

c) *-ū*, *-ī*, *-ūna*, *-īna* undergo the following contractions when vocalic suffixes are added: *ā - ū* > *aw*, *ā - ī* > *ay*: perf. رموا *ramaw*, دعوا *da'aw*; imperf. يلقون *yalqawna*, تلقين *talqayna*. In the following contractions *ī - ī* > *ī*, *ū - ū* > *ū* and *ī - ū* > *ū*, *ū - ī* > *ī*, the suffix vowel prevails: perf. لقوا *laqū*, سروا *sarū*; imperf. يرمون *yarmūna*, يدعون *yad'ūna*, يسرون *yasrūna*; ترمين *tarmīna*, تدعين *tad'īna*, تسرين *tasrīna*.

§253. a) The subjunctive ending *-a* is added to the imperfect base: يرمي *yarmiya*, يدعو *yad'uwa*, but يلقى *yalqā* (§252 a). The supplementary suffixes lose *-na*, *-ni*: يرموا *yarmū*, ترمي *tarmī*, يرميا *yarmiyā*, يدعوا *yad'ū*, تدعي *tad'ī*, يدعوا *yad'uwā*, يلقوا *yalqaw*, تلقى *talqay*, يلقيا *yalqayā*. The ending *-na* of the fem. pl. is not dropped: يرمين *yarmīna*, يدعون *yad'ūna*, يلقيين *yalqayna* (like the imperf.).

b) The jussive's lack of endings is represented in III-weak verbs by a shortening of the stem vowel: يرم *yarmi*, يدع *yad'u*, يلق *yalqa*, يسر *yasru*, يغن *yughanni* (II), يتلق *yatalaqqa* (V). Forms with supplementary suffixes are identical to those of the subjunctive.

c) The imperative has the endings of the 2nd person jussive: ارم *(i)rmī*, fem. ارمي *(i)rmī*, pl. ارموا *(i)rmū*, fem. ارمين *(i)rmīna*; ادع *(u)dū*, fem. ادعي *(u)dī*, pl. ادعوا *(u)dū*, fem. ادعون *(u)dūna*; الق *(i)lqā*, fem. القى *(i)lqay*, pl. القوا *(i)lqaw*, fem. القين *(i)lqayna*; غنّ *ghanni*, غنّي *ghannī*, etc. (II), تلقّ *talaqqa*, fem. تلقّي *talaqqay*, etc. (V).

§254. The energetic forms (§215) are: ترمّن *yarmiyan(na)*, 2nd fem. ترمّين *tarminna*, pl. يرمّن *yarmunna*, fem. يرمينان *yarmīnānni*; يدعون *yadūwan(na)*, 2nd fem. تدعن *tadīnna*, pl. يدعن *yadūnna*, fem. يدعونان *yadūnānni*; يلقين *yalqayan(na)*, 2nd fem. تلقين *talqayinna*, pl. يلقون *yalqawunna*, fem. يلقينان *yalqaynānni*.

§255. The passive is formed according to morpheme category *fu'la* : *yuf'alu*: رمي *rumiya* (يرمي *yurmā*), دعي *dwiya* (يدعي *yudā*), لقي *luqiya* (يلقي *yulqā*); stem III لوقي *lūqiya* (يلاق *yulqā*), stem IV أهدي *uhdiya*, (يهدي *yuhdā*), etc. The inflection follows the pattern of the fourth vowel class (§250).

Note 1. In poetry, there are also forms in the category *fu'la* (§210.1): رمى *rumā*, fem. رمت *rumat*; رمى *rummā*, fem. رمت *rummat* (II).

§256. The phonological rules in §252 hold for nominal stems ending in *-ī*, *-ā*. When the sign of indefiniteness *-n* is added, the final long vowel of the stem must be shortened. Cf. §§154 f. on the inflection.

a) *rāmī*, *dāī*, *lāqī* correspond to the active participle category *fā'il-*: رام *rāmin*, fem. رامية *rāmiyatun*, داع *dā'in*, fem. داعية *dā'iyatun*, لاق *lāqin*, fem. لاقية *lāqiyatun*.

b) The passive participle *maf'ūlun* is formed with consonantal *w* or *y*: مدعو *mad'ūwun*, مرمي *marmīyun* (< **marmūyun* §33 b).

Note 1. On occasion, *maf'ūlun* of III-*w* roots is formed with *y*: مدعي *mad'īyun* instead of *mad'ūwun*.

c) All derived verb stems have stem-final *-ī* in the active participle and *-ā* in the passive participle: مغنّ *mughannin*, fem. مغنّية *mughanniyatun* 'singing', مغنّي *mughannan*, fem. مغنّاة *mughannātun* 'sung' (II); مهد *muhdin* 'giving', مهدى *muhdan* 'given' (IV), etc.

§257. The rules followed in the formation of III-weak roots (§69) hold for verbal substantives.

a) In morpheme categories *faʿlun*, *fiʿlānun*, and the like, consonantal *w* or *y* appears: رمي *ramyun*, دعوة *darwatun*, نسيان *nisyānun* from نسي *nasiya* (نسى *yansā*) ‘forget’. For *faʿlun* and *fiʿlun*, usually *fiʿalun*, *fuʿalun* occur with a vocalic stem-ending: رضى *riḍan* from رضي *radiya* (يرضى *yardā*) ‘be satisfied’, هدى *hudan* from هدى *hadā* (يهدي *yahdī*) ‘lead on the right way’. In the same way, morpheme category *faʿalatun* occurs in place of *faʿlatun*: نجاة *najātun* from نجا *najā* (ينجو *yanjū*) ‘escape’ (§60.3).

Note 1. *fuʿūlun* is formed with radical *w* or *y*: صفو *ṣufūwun* from صفا *ṣafā* (يصفو *yaṣfū*) ‘be pure’, هوي *huwīyun* (< **huwūyun* §33 b) from هوى *hawā* (يهوي *yahwī*) ‘fall’.

b) Morpheme categories with *-ā* in the second syllable, *faʿālun*, *fiʿālun*, etc., have *ʾ* before the inflectional ending (§69 b): بقاء *baqārūn* from بقي *baqiya* (يبقى *yabqā*) ‘remain’. The forms of verbal substantives of the derived stems correspond: لقاء *liqārūn* (III), إهداء *iḥdārūn* (IV), انجلاء *(i)njilārūn* (VII), التقاء *(i)ltiqārūn* (VIII), استيلاء *(i)stīlārūn* (X), etc. According to §33 b, verb stems V and VI have تلق *talaqqin* (*talaqqī* - < **talaqquy*), ترام *tarāmin*.

Note 2. The verbal substantive of stem II is formed like *tafīlatun* rather than *tafīlun*: تغنية *taghniyatun*.

Note 3. Verbal substantives formed with the prefix *ma-* occur as *maʿālun*, *maʿalatun*, *maʿīlatun*: منجى *manjan*, منجاة *manjātun* from نجا *najā* ‘escape’, معصية *maʿṣiyatun* from عصى *aṣā* (يعصى *yaʿṣī*) ‘disobey’.

III-Weak—II-Weak Verbs (*Verba tertiae et mediae infirmae*)

§258. a) *w* in II-*w*-III-weak verbs is always treated consonantly: روى *rawā* (يروي *yarwī*) ‘give to drink, water’, روى *rawiya* (يروي *yarwā*) ‘drink one’s fill’. In verbal substantives in the category *faʿlun*, **wy* becomes *yy* (§33 c): روي *rayyun*.

b) II-y-III-weak verbs in the basic stem can be treated either as III-weak or as II-geminate verbs: حي *hayiya* (يحي *yahiyā*) or حي *hayya* (يحي *yahayyu*) 'live', عي *ayiya* (يعي *ya'yā*) or عي *ayya* (يعي *ya'ayyu*) 'be incapable'. In the derived stems, all forms are constructed like III-weak verbs: stem IV أحيا *ahyā* (يحي *yuhyī*), 'lend life', أعا *ayā* (يعي *yuyī*) 'incapacitate'.

Note 1. Stem II حيا *hayyā* (يحي *yuhayyī*) 'greet' forms its verbal substantive like a II-geminate verb (§236): تحية *tahiyyatun*.

Note 2. In addition to استحيا *(i)stahyā* (يستحي *yastahyī*) 'be ashamed' (X), a shortened form occurs: استحا *(i)stahā* (يستحي *yastahī*).

Emphatic Qualification

§259. The words نعم *nīma* 'What a wonderful...', بئس *bīsa* 'What an evil...', as well as several words in the morpheme category *fa'la*, *fu'la* (*fa'ula*) (§262) are used for emphatic qualification. That which is qualified always follows in the nominative and is determined by the article, although the entire phrase is considered indefinite: نعم الرجل *nīma 'r-rajulu* 'What a wonderful man!', 'a wonderful man to be sure!', بئس النساء *bīsa 'n-nisā'u* 'What evil women!', 'bad women for sure!'.

Note 1. Occasionally, feminine نعمت *nīmat*, بئست *bīsat* are formed and come before feminine terms: نعمت المرأة *nīmat-i 'l-mar'atu* 'What a perfect woman', in addition to normal نعم المرأة *nīma 'l-mar'atu*.

§260. The invariable formula *nīma (bīsa)* with following article and substantive in the nominative may occupy different places within the phrase: لبئس الرجلان أتما *la-bīsa 'r-rajulāni 'antumā* 'What evil men are you two', نعم الفتى كنت *nīma 'l-fatā kunta* 'What a perfect lad you were', أليس ببئس الظالم *a-laysa bi-bīsa 'z-zālimu* 'Is he not indeed an evil doer?'.

Note 1. Note the formula فبها ونعمت *fa-bihā wa-nīmat* '(If you do it) in that case, it's all right!' used as the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

§261. a) The nominative coming after *nīma (bīsa)* may be replaced by a clause introduced by ما *mā* (§289), in which case *nīma (bīsa)* with relative *mā* (§421) means 'something very wonderful (evil) indeed':

نعم ما أمرت به *nīma mā ʾamarta bihi* 'You have issued a wonderful order indeed', بس ما صنعت *bīsa mā ṣanata* 'What an evil thing you have created'. The action is qualified with subordinating *mā* (§416): بس ما سافرتم *bīsa mā sāfartum* 'You have traveled very badly'.

Note 1. *nīimmā* occurs as a variant of *nīma-mā*.

b) Sometimes, an indefinite in the accusative (§384) occurs in place of the definite nominative: بس للظالمين بدلا *bīsa liḥ-ẓālimīna badalan* 'How evil is that exchange for the evildoers!' (Koran 18:50).

§262. Other words that are used on occasion to qualify emphatically are, for example: جَلَّ *jalla*, شَدَّ *shadda*, عَزَّ *ʿazza*, هَدَّ *hadda* 'how mighty, great', كَبُرَ *kabura*, سَاءَ *sāʾa* 'how evil, bad', حَسُنَ *hasuna*, *ḥusna*, *ḥasna* 'how beautiful, magnificent', عَظُمَ *ʿazuma*, *ʿuzma*, *ʿazma* 'how powerful, mighty'. They are used much like *nīma*, *bīsa*: جَلَّ الخُطْبُ فَقْدَانُهُ *jalla ʾl-khaṭbu fiqdānuhu* 'How great a mishap is his loss!', لَشَدَّمَا أَحْبَبْتُهَا *la-shadda-mā ʾahbatabhā* 'How much do you love her!', كَبُرَتْ كَلِمَةٌ تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ *kaburat kalimatan takhruju min ʾafwāhihim* 'How nasty a word comes from their mouths!' (Koran 18:5).

Note 1. Used more as particles are: قَلَّمَا *qalla-mā* 'very rarely', طَالَمَا *ṭāla-mā* 'how often, very often': قَلَّمَا يَكُونُ بِالذَّبُورِ الْمَطَرُ *qalla-mā yakūnu bi-d-dabūri ʾl-maṭaru* 'How infrequently does the rain come with the westerly wind', طَالَمَا قَدْ سَأَلْتَنِي *ṭāla-mā qad saʾaltanī* 'How often have you asked me'.

Note 2. Other particles of emphatic qualification include: شَتَّانَ *shattāna* 'how unlike', سُرْعَانَ *surʾāna*, *sirʾāna* 'how swift': شَتَّانَ الظَّامِعِ وَالْيَاسِ *shattāna ʾṭ-ṭāmiʿi wa-ʾl-yāʾisi* 'How different are those who still have hope from those who have given up hope!', سُرْعَانَ مَا نَسِيتُمْ *surʾāna mā nasitum* 'How quickly have you forgotten!'.

§263. The emphatic qualification حَبَّ *habba* (*hubba*) 'how loveable' is almost always combined with ذَا *dhā* (§274.2), in which case *dhā* is in the position of the definite nominative and can be accompanied by an indefinite accusative or *min* (§299): حَبِّذَا أَنْتَ *habba-dhā ʾanta* 'How lovely are you!', حَبِّذَا الْفَوَارِسُ *habba-dhā ʾl-fawārisu* 'How wonderful are the knights!',

(من أرض) حبذا البصرة أرضا *habba-dhā 'l-Baṣratu 'arḍan* (or *min 'arḍin*)
'What a lovely spot of earth is Basra!'.
Note 1. Frequently يا *yā* (§347) precedes *habba-dhā*.

Note 2. *habba*, *hubba* without *-dhā* occurs in combination with *bi-* (§294 d) as predicate: يا حبّ بالمَنْزِل *yā habba bi-'l-manzili* 'How lovely is the dwelling!', رجلا *habba bihī rajulan* 'What a lovely man is he!'.
Note 1. Frequently يا *yā* (§347) precedes *habba-dhā*.

Pronouns and Particles

Personal Pronouns

§264. Independent personal pronouns:

Sing.	1st pers.	أنا <i>anā</i>	dual	—	pl.	نحن <i>naḥnu</i>
	2nd m.	أنت <i>anta</i>		أنتما <i>antumā</i>		أنتم <i>antum</i>
	2nd f.	أنت <i>anti</i>		أنتما <i>antumā</i>		أنتن <i>antunna</i>
	3rd m.	هو <i>huwa</i>		هما <i>humā</i>		هم <i>hum</i>
	3rd f.	هي <i>hiya</i>		هما <i>humā</i>		هنّ <i>hunna</i>

Note 1. أنا *anā* 'I' in poetry is usually *ana* (§7.6).

Note 2. Pronouns ending in *-um* may in poetry end in *-umū* (§7.5).

Note 3. After *wa-* and *fa-* (§§328 f.), *huwa*, *hiya* may be shortened to وهو *wa-hwa*, وهي *wa-hya*, فهو *fa-hwa*, فهي *fa-hya*.

Note 4. On occasion in poetry, the non-classical forms هو *hū*, هي *hī* may occur in addition to *huwa*, *hiya*.

§265. The independent personal pronoun as a rule functions as a nominative. See §§266.1; 267 for exceptions. It can be the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence (§§360 ff.) and precede the definite nominal predicate (§363 b).

Note 1. إِنَّ *inna* (§339) with a personal suffix may occur instead of the independent personal pronoun as the subject.

Note 2. The independent personal pronoun or the personal suffix (§455) may come after لولا *law-lā*.

§266. Since the verb incorporates the pronominal subject (§§207; 211), the personal pronoun is used in the verbal sentence to emphasize the subject: *كان هو السارق* *kāna huwa 's-sāriqa* 'He was the thief'. It usually also appears when the word order subject-predicate is required (§§368 ff.), e.g.: *مرّ بي وأنا أنظر إليه* *marra bī wa-anā 'anzuru 'ilayhi* 'He went by me as I watched him'.

Note 1. On occasion, the personal pronoun is also used to emphasize a personal suffix (§268): *أنا بيتي* *baytī 'anā* 'my house'.

§267. The personal pronoun is used to coordinate more than one subject with one verbal predicate: *أتينا أنا والحكم* *ataynā 'anā wa-'l-Ḥakam* 'We, al-Ḥakam and I, came'. In the same way, different pronominal objects can be coordinated with one verb: *بعثني أنا وأنت* *ba'athanī 'anā wa-'anta* 'He sent you and me'. Cf. §328 b.

§268. The dependent personal suffixes can be attached to substantives, prepositions (§292), verbs, and particles:

Sing.	1st pers.	ي -ī, -ya	dual	pl.	نا -nā
		ني -nī			
2nd m.	ك -ka		كما -kumā	كم -kum	
2nd f.	كِ -ki		كما -kumā	كن -kunna	
3rd m.	ه -hu, -hū		هما -humā	هم -hum	
	هِ -hi, -hī		هما -himā	هم -him	
3rd f.	ها -hā		هما -hu/imā	هنّ -hu/inna	

Note 1. In the 1st person sing., -ī, -ya is suffixed to substantives and prepositions, and nī is suffixed to verbs and particles. The form -ya comes after ā, ī, ū, ay, aw (§269 c).

Note 2. The suffix of the 1st sing. is -iya, -niya (§54 a) when it precedes the article (ʾa)l- (§142). In classical Arabic, however, -ī, -nī are also permitted. In poetry, -iya, -niya often occur in place of -ī, -nī to fit the metre.

Note 3. The suffix of the 3rd masc. sing. is short (-hu, -hi) when it comes after a closed syllable, but long (-hū, -hī) after an open syllable. See §7.3.

Note 4. Plural suffixes that end in -um may become -umū, -imū in poetry: *كم* *kumū*, *هم* *humū*, *himū* (§7.5). Cf. also §54 a.

Note 5. When additional suffixes (§271) are attached, *-kum*, *-hum* become *کمو* -*kumū*, *همو* -*humū* (-*himū*). *کا* -*kā*, *کی* -*kī* also occur in post-classical Arabic in the 2nd sing. in this situation.

§269. a) The personal suffixes are added to the construct state of nouns (§145), and in this construction function as genitives: *کتابک* *kitābu-ka*, *کتابیک* *kitābi-ka*, *کتاباک* *kitāba-ka* 'your book' (nom., gen., acc.), *أبوکما* *abū-kumā*, *أبیکما* *abī-kumā*, *أباکما* *abā-kumā* 'your [du.] father' (nom., gen., acc.), *داعیکم* *dā'i-kum* 'your caller', *قنانا* *qanā-nā* 'our spears', *سارقوها* *sāriqū-hā*, *ساریقها* *sāriqī-hā* 'her thieves' (nom., obl.), etc.

Note 1. The personal suffixes may function as accusatives when affixed to verbal substantives or participles. Cf. §271.1. See §386.2 concerning the use of personal suffixes with terms expressing time.

b) After *i*, *ī*, *ay*, the 3rd person suffixes are *-hi* (-*hī*), *-himā*, *-him*, *-hinna*: *ساریق* *sāriqī-hī* 'his thief' (gen.), *ساریقه* *sāriqay-hi* 'both his thieves' (obl.), *ساریقہ* *sāriqī-hi* 'his thieves' (obl.), as contrasted to nominative *sāri-qu-hū*, *sāriqā-hu*, *sāriqū-hu*

Note 2. In the dialect of Hījāz, *-hu* (-*hū*), *-humā*, *-hum*, *-hunna* remained unchanged after *i*, *ī*, *ay*: *کتابہ فی* *fi kitābi-hū* 'in his book'.

c) The case suffixes *-u*, *-i*, *-a* disappear before the 1st sing. suffix *-ī*: *کتابی* *kitābī* 'my book', *عمتی* *ammātī* 'my aunt', *عماتی* *ammātī* 'my aunts'. After *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ay*, *aw*, the suffix is *-ya*, in which case the sequence *ū* - *y* becomes *ī* - *y*, and *aw* - *y* becomes *ay* - *y* (§33): *ساریقی* *sāriqī-ya* 'my thieves' (nom., obl.), *عمتای* *ammātā-ya* (nom.), *عمتی* *ammātay-ya* (obl.) 'my two aunts'.

Note 3. See §157.3 on the shortening of *-ī* > *-i* in the vocative.

Note 4. When the 1st sing. suffix is added to the substantives listed in §150, they are: *أبی* *abī* 'my father', *أخی* *akhī* 'my brother', *حمی* *hamī* 'my uncle', and *فمی* *fīya* 'my mouth'.

§270. In combination with verbs, the personal suffixes function as objects. The suffix of the 1st sing. is always *-nī*, *-niya*. Only the 2nd pl. of the perfect (§207) undergoes variation due to the addition of the personal suffix:

ضربتُم *ḍarabtum* 'You struck' : ضربتموني *ḍarabtumū-nī* 'You struck me'. The suffix of the 3rd person after *i*, *ī*, *ay* becomes: *-hi* (*-hī*), *-himā*, *-him*, *-hinna*: يرميه *yarmī-hi* 'He throws him', but رماه *ramā-hu* 'He threw him'.

Note 1. The *l* that is written after the plural ending (§7.2) is dropped before the suffix: كتبوا *katabū* : كتبوها *katabū-hā*.

Note 2. The *-ti* of the 2nd fem. sing. of the perfect may be *-tī* before suffixes in post-classical Arabic: ضربتني *ḍarabtī-nī* for ضربتيني *ḍarabtī-nī*.

Note 3. The imperfect endings *-īna*, *-ūna*, *-āni* may be shortened before *-nī*, *-nā* (§50 c). As a result, the imperfect forms are the same as the jussive and subjunctive: تضرِبيني *taḍribīnī* and تضرِبيني *taḍribīna-nī* 'You (fem.) hit me', يضرِبونا *yaḍribūnā* and يضرِبونا *yaḍribūna-nā* 'They hit us', etc.

§271. There may be two personal suffixes added to the verb. In this case, the 1st person precedes the 2nd and the 3rd, and the 2nd person precedes the 3rd: أعطانيه *ʿaṭā-nī-hi* 'He gave it to me', أعطيتكه *ʿaṭaytu-ka-hū* 'I gave it to you', أعطيناكموها *ʿaṭaynā-kumū-hā* 'We gave her to you' (§268.5).

Note 1. If two personal suffixes are attached to a verbal substantive, the first functions as the subject, the second as the object: ذكركها *dhikru-ka-hā* 'your remembering her', طلبيك *ṭalab-ī-kum* 'my searching for you'.

Pronominal Object Particle

§272. Instead of the second personal suffix, *إيّا* *ʾiyyā* with personal suffixes is used, if directly adding the suffix is impossible or is better avoided: إيّاي *ʾiyyā-ya* 'me', إيّاك *ʾiyyā-ka*, *-ki* 'you', إيّاه *ʾiyyā-hu*, him, etc. أعطاه إيّاي *ʿaṭāhā ʾiyyāya* 'He gave me to her' as opposed to أعطانيها *ʿaṭānīhā* 'He gave her to me'.

Note 1. *ʾiyyā* is also used to place the pronominal object first: إيّاك نعبد وإيّاك نستعين *ʾiyyāka naʿbudu wa-ʾiyyāka nastaʿīnu* (Koran 1:5) 'You alone do we worship, and You alone we ask for help'.

Note 2. Independent إيّاك *ʾiyyāka*, *-ki*, إيّاكم *ʾiyyākum*, إيّاكن *ʾiyyā-kunna*, mostly with *wa-* (§328.3) or *ʾan* (§414) following, has the meaning 'beware...!', 'take care not to...!'.

Reflexive

§273. The reflexive relationship to the object is expressed by *nafsun* 'soul, self' (§111 d) with the addition of corresponding personal suffixes: رأيت نفسي *ra'aytu nafsī* 'I saw myself', قال لنفسه *qāla li-nafsihī* 'He said to himself'. In the other reflexive relationships, the simple personal suffixes are usually used: كنت في بيتي *kuntu fī baytī* 'I was in my house'.

Demonstratives

§274. Demonstratives that indicate direct deixis ('this'):

Sing. m.	هذا <i>hādihā</i>	dual	هذان <i>hādhāni</i>	pl.	هؤلاء <i>hā'ulā'i</i>
f.	هذه <i>hādhīhī</i>		هتان <i>hātāni</i>		هؤلاء <i>hā'ulā'i</i>

Sing. and pl. demonstratives are not inflected. The dual has the nominal inflection: Obl. هذين *hādhayni*, fem. هتين *hātayni*.

Note 1. In the singular, *hādhīhī* has almost completely replaced the original form *hādihī*. See §§7.4; 7.7; 8 on the orthography.

Note 2. Forms without *hā-* occur very rarely in classical Arabic: sing. masc. ذا *dhā*, fem. تي *tī*, تِه *tihī*, ذِي *dhī*, ذِه *dhīhī*, تا *tā*; dual masc. ذان *dhāni*, ذِي *dhayni* (obl.), fem. تان *tāni*, تَيْن *tayni* (obl.); pl. أولى *ulā*, أولاء *ulā'i*.

§275. Demonstratives that indicate indirect deixis ('that'):

a) Formed with *-ka*:

Sing. m.	ذاك <i>dhāka</i>	dual	ذانك <i>dhānika</i>	pl.	أولاك <i>ulāka</i> / أولائك <i>ulārika</i>
			(obl.) ذينك <i>dhaynika</i>		أولاك <i>ulāka</i> / أولائك <i>ulārika</i>
f.	تاك <i>tāka</i>		تانك <i>tānika</i>		أولاك <i>ulāka</i> / أولائك <i>ulārika</i>
	تيك <i>tīka</i>		(obl.) تينك <i>taynika</i>		أولاك <i>ulāka</i> / أولائك <i>ulārika</i>

b) Formed with *-lika*:

Sing. m.	ذلك <i>dhālika</i>	dual	ذاتك <i>dhānnika</i>	pl.	أولالك <i>ulālika</i>
			(obl.) ذينك <i>dhaynnika</i>		أولالك <i>ulālika</i>
f.	تلك <i>tilka</i>		تاتك <i>tānnika</i>		أولالك <i>ulālika</i>
			تينك <i>taynnika</i>		أولالك <i>ulālika</i>

Note 1. In the singular, forms with *-lika* are preferred. On occasion, forms with *-hā* occur: sing. masc. *هَذَا hādhāka*, fem. *هَذِيكَ hādhīka*, pl. *هَؤُلَاكَ hā'ulāka*, *هَؤُلَايِكَ hā'ulā'ika*.

Note 2. Sometimes in pre-classical Arabic, other forms of the personal suffix of the 2nd person occur instead of *-ka*: *ذَاكَ dhāki*, *ذَاكَ dhākum*, *ذَلِكُمْ dhālikum*, *ذَلِكُنْ dhālikunna*, *تِلْكَ tilkum*, *تِلْكَمَا tilkumā*, etc. Reference to the particular person, however, no longer holds. Cf. §278.1.

§276. a) Direct deixis refers in time and space to something present: *يَا هَذَا yā hādhā* 'oh, this one here!', i.e., 'hey, you there!', *أَهَذَا أَمْ هَذَا a-hādhā 'am hādhā* 'this one here or this one here?'; referring to context *ذَا دَعِ dhā da* 'leave this!'. Sometimes, *هَذَا hādhā* anticipates the context that follows: *هَذَا مَا اشْتَرَى فُلَانٌ hādhā mā 'shtarā fulānūn* 'This (that follows) is what so-and-so bought'.

b) Indirect deixis refers in time and space to something at a distance: *يَوْمَ ذَلِكَ yawma dhālika (dhāka)* 'on the day of that (event), then'. *ذَلِكَ dhālika* is the demonstrative that most frequently refers back to context.

Note 1. In some usages, demonstratives refer to preceding contexts in a comprehensive way: *... وَ هَذَا hādhā wa ...* 'besides, moreover, on the other hand'; *... ذَلِكَ أَنَّنْ dhālika 'anna ...* 'that is (to say), namely, to wit...'.
 ... وَ هَذَا hādhā wa ... 'besides, moreover, on the other hand';
 ... ذَلِكَ أَنَّنْ dhālika 'anna ... 'that is (to say), namely, to wit...'

§277. Demonstratives come before definite substantives with articles (§142): *هَذَا الْكِتَابُ hādhā 'l-kitābu* 'this book'. Otherwise, demonstratives come after substantives: *هَذِهِ كُتُبِي kutubī hādhīhī* 'these my books', *أَصْحَابُ الْحَدِيثِ أَشْهَابُ الْهَدْيِ aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīthi 'ulā'ika* 'those followers of Ḥadith'. Demonstratives agree with respect to gender in the same way that attributive adjectives do (§§113 f.).

Note 1. When used with proper names which have the article, demonstratives may precede: *هَذَا الْحَكَمُ hādhā 'l-Ḥakamu* or *الْحَكَمُ هَذَا 'l-Ḥakamu hādhā* 'this al-Ḥakam', but always *مُحَمَّدٌ هَذَا Muḥammadun hādhā* 'this Muhammad', and so forth.

§278. When they introduce clauses, direct deixis demonstratives call attention to the presence of the predicate ('here is/are'): *هَؤُلَاءِ بَنَاتِي hā'ulā'i banātī* 'Here are my daughters!' The predicate may be expanded with a circum-

stantial accusative (§§380 ff.) or clause (§§431 ff.): هذا رسول الله قد دخل *hādhā rasūlu 'l-lāhi qad dakhala* 'Now the Messenger of God has come in'. This usage is restricted primarily to pre-classical Arabic.

Note 1. When ذاك *dhāka*, ذاك *dhākum*, تلك *tilka*, etc., (§275.2) occur with this function, the direct deixis refers to the person being addressed: ذاك *dhākum ṣāhibukum* 'Here is your companion!'.

§279. a) A demonstrative referring to a person may occur in combination with the personal pronoun at the beginning of a phrase: أنا ذا *anā dhā*, أنت ذا *anta dhā*, هم هؤلاء *hum hā-ulā'i*, etc.; في دارك *huwa dhā wāqifun (wāqifan) fī dārika* 'There he is in your house' (§383 a).

b) In classical Arabic, *hā-* usually precedes the personal pronoun:

هأنذا or (هَاءَنْذَا) *hā-anā-dhā*, f. أنا ذي *hā-anā-dhī* 'Here am I!'; أنت ذا *hā-anta-dhā*, f. أنت ذي (تَا) *hā-anti-dhī (-tā)*; ها هو ذا *hā-huwa-dhā*, f. هي ذي (تَا) *hā-hiya-dhī (-tā)*; ها نحن أولاء *hā-naḥnu-ulā'i*, etc.

Note 1. *inna* (§339) may replace the personal pronoun: *hā-inna-dhā*, (تَا) *hā-inna-dhī (-tā)*: ها إن ذي عذرة *hā-inna-dhī 'idhratun* 'There is an excuse!'.

Note 2. On occasion, the demonstrative is lacking: *hā-antum taṣlamūna* 'You there sure know it!'

§280. Demonstratives that introduce clauses are: إذ *idh*, إذا *idhā*, usually فإذا *fa-idhā* 'there was (and all of a sudden there was)...'.

a) إذ *idh* introduces a verbal clause (§§355 ff.): *innī la-ʿindahum idh ʿaqbala ʿirun* 'I was with them, and there came a caravan' (§407.2).

b) A substantive or pronoun follows إذا (وَ) *(fa-)idhā*: نظرت إليها *naẓartu ʿilayhā fa-idhā (hiya) 'mrʾatun* 'I looked at her, and lo! it was a woman', دخل عليها فإذا هي قد نامت *dakhala ʿalayhā fa-idhā hiya qad nāmat* 'He went in to her, and there she was already asleep'. The subject of the clause, which is something that appears suddenly, is frequently introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): فإذا بأبيه *fa-idhā bi-abīhi* 'There all

of a sudden was his father', فإذا هو بأبيه *fa-ʾidhā huwa bi-ʾabīhi* 'All of a sudden, he was face-to-face with his father'.

Note 1. See §§443; 444 on ʾidh, ʾidhā introducing a main clause. See §442 on ʾidh introducing a subordinate clause, and §§464 f. on ʾidhā introducing a subordinate clause.

Definite Clauses (Relative Pronouns)

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
m.	الَّذِي (ʾa)lladhī	الَّذَانِ (ʾa)lladhāni	الَّذِينَ (ʾa)lladhīna
f.	الَّتِي (ʾa)llātī	الَّتَانِ (ʾa)llatāni	الَّلَاتِي (ʾa)llātī or الَّلَوَاتِي (ʾa)llawātī

The singular and plural are not inflected. The dual has a nominal inflection: oblique اللَّذَيْنِ (ʾa)lladhayni, اللَّتَيْنِ (ʾa)llatayni. The (ʾa)l- at the beginning is the definite article (§§18.1; 142 b).

Note 1. Pre-classical Arabic had masc. and fem. plurals الأولى (ʾa)l-ulā and الآئِي (ʾa)llāʾī (§49 d).

Note 2. ذو *dhū* with the same function, found in pre-classical poetry, is invariable. It is a feature of the dialect of the Ṭayyi' tribe.

§282. Relative pronouns make attributive clauses definite. Like adjectives (§§113 f.), they agree with the substantives to which they refer: الرجل الَّذِي ضَرَبْتُهُ *(ʾa)r-rajulu ʾlladhī ḍarabtuḥū* 'the man whom I struck', (literally) 'the man who — I struck him', بالمرأتَيْنِ اللَّتَيْنِ لَقِيتُهُمَا *bi-l-marātayni ʾllatayni laqituhumā* 'with the two women whom I encountered', الرجال الَّذِينَ ضَرَبْتُهُمْ *(ʾa)r-rijālu ʾlladhīna ḍarabtuḥum* 'the men whom I struck'. In addition, it functions without antecedent as an independent relative pronoun ('he who, that which'). See §§421 ff.

Nominal Demonstratives

§283. Meaning 'the (possessor, master) of ... , the one with ...' and always followed by a genitive (§391), the demonstrative ذو *dhū* is inflected nominally: (§150):

Sing. m. nom.	ذو <u>dhū</u>	f. ذات <u>dhātu</u>
gen.	ذی <u>dhī</u>	ذات <u>dhāti</u>
acc.	ذا <u>dhā</u>	ذات <u>dhāta</u>
Du. nom.	ذوا <u>dhawā</u>	ذاتا <u>dhātā</u> , ذواتا <u>dhawātā</u>
obl.	ذوی <u>dhaway</u>	ذاتی <u>dhātay</u> , ذواتی <u>dhawātay</u>
Pl. nom.	ذوو <u>dhawū</u> , أولو <u>ulū</u>	ذوات <u>dhawātu</u> , أولات <u>ulātu</u>
obl.	ذوی <u>dhawī</u> , أولی <u>ulī</u>	ذوات <u>dhawāti</u> , أولات <u>ulāti</u>

Note 1. As a substantive, ذات dhātun means 'being, self'.

Note 2. In the adverbial accusative, dhū and dhātu are used to express indefinite time: ذَا صَبَاحٍ dhā ṣabāḥin 'one morning', ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ dhāta yawmin 'one day'.

Demonstrative Particles

§284. a) Demonstratives referring to location: هُنَا hunā, هَاهُنَا hāhunā 'here'; هُنَاكَ hunāka, هُنَالِكَ hunālīka, هَاهُنَاكَ hāhunāka 'there'; تَمَّ thamma 'there'.

b) Demonstratives referring to time: الْآنَ (ا) l-āna 'now', إِذًا idhā, idhan 'then, consequently' (§11.2; cf. §§196.2; 447.1). إِذْكَ idh-dhāka, إِذْكَ idh-dhālīka 'at that time'.

Note 1. (ا) l-āna is not inflected: حَتَّى الْآنَ hattā 'l-āna, إِلَى الْآنَ ilā 'l-āna 'until now'.

Note 2. إِذْ idhin 'at that time' occurs with substantives that express time: حِينَئِذٍ hīna-idhin 'then, at that time' (= حِينَئِذَا hīna-dhāka; cf. §276 b), غَدَاتِذٍ ghadāta-idhin 'that morning', يَوْمِئِذٍ yawma-idhin '(on) that day', etc.

c) Demonstratives referring to manner: كَذَا kadhā, هَكَذَا hākadhā, كَذَلِكَ kadhāka, كَذَلِكَ kadhālīka 'thus, in this/that way'; وَكَذَا kadhā wa-kadhā, كَيْتَ وَكَيْتَ kayta wa-kayta 'so and so, such and such'.

Interrogatives

§285. a) *man* 'who?', *mā* 'what?' are used for the singular, dual, and plural: *man-i 'r-rajulāni* 'Who are the two men?'. *dhā*, as it introduces a clause, may directly follow: *mā-dhā taṣna'u* 'What are you making?'.

Note 1. *mā* may be followed by *li-* (§295): *mā laka* 'What is with you?', 'What do you have?'. It may be followed by a verb or an accusative: *mā lahu kādhīban* 'For what is he lying?', *mā laka tabkīna* 'Why are you (fem.) crying?' (§434.1).

b) *man* and *mā* may function as genitives and be combined with prepositions: *ukhtu man anti* 'Whose sister are you?', *fi man*, *fī-man* 'among whom, among which people?', *mimman* (§45) 'from whom?'. Interrogatives like *mā* may be abbreviated after prepositions to *ma* (pausal form *mah*): *lima* 'why?', *bima*, *amma* (§45), *alā-ma* (علام, *ḥattā-ma* (حتى م), etc.

Note 2. Occasionally, *lima*, *bima* become *lim*, *bim* in poetry.

c) Indefinite *mā* 'some' comes after the indefinite state (§141): *rajulun mā* (also *rajulum-mā*) 'a certain man', *amrun mā* (also *amrum-mā*) 'a certain affair'. It may also appear between the construct state and a following genitive (§145): *yā tūla mā shawqin* 'O so long yearning!'. Similarly, after prepositions: *amma qalīl* = *amma qalīl* 'عن قليل' 'an qalīl' 'shortly, soon'; also frequently, *ghayru mā* = *ghayru mā* 'غير mā' 'other than' (§325). Cf. §424.2.

§286. a) *ayyun* 'which?' (§419.2), almost always with the genitive following: *ayyu rajulin* 'which man?', *ayyu rijālin* 'which men?', *ayyu l-nisā'i* 'which of the women?', *ayyunā* 'which of us?'. See §287.1 on *ka-ayyin*.

Note 1. Occasionally, fem. *ayyatun* 'which' occurs: *ayyatu qaryatin* 'which village?'.

Note 2. Sometimes, non-classical *ayshin*, *aysh* < *ayy* 'أيش' 'ayy' 'أيشي' < *ayy* 'أيشي' 'ayy' 'أيشي' occurs in classical texts.

b) Indefinite أيّ *ayyun* 'any, every': أكرمه أيّ إكرام *akramahū ayya ikrāmin* 'He bestowed every honor on him'. As an exclamation, it is used to express great admiration: رأينا فارسا أيّ فارس *ra'aynā fārisan ayya fārisin* 'We saw a rider, and what a rider he was!'.
 §287. كم *kam* 'how much, how often?'; the substantive to which it refers is in the indefinite accusative singular (§384): كم لك درهما *kam laka dirhaman* 'How many dirhams do you have?'. As an exclamation, is used with the genitive or من *min* (§299 a): كم درهم أنفقت *kam dirhamin anfaqta* 'How many dirhams have you spent indeed!', كم لاقينا من عدوّ *kam lāqaynā min adūwin* 'How many enemies have we encountered'.

Note 1. كائن *ka-ayyin* has the same meaning, in poetry often > كائن *kā'in*: رأيت من ملوك *kā'in ra'aytu min mulūkin* 'So many kings have I seen.'

§288. Other interrogatives: أين *ayna* 'where, where to?', أنى *annā* 'where, where from, why is it that?', كيف *kayfa* 'how?', متى *matā*, أيّان *ayyāna* 'when?'.
 Note 1. *ayna*, *kayfa*, *ayyāna* are not inflected: أين *min ayna* 'where from?', بلا كيف *bilā kayfa* 'without how,' i.e., 'without asking how'.

Note 2. On the interrogative particles *a-*, *hal*, see §335. On *law-lā*, *law-mā* introducing an interrogative clause, see §457.1.

§289. Most of the interrogatives can also be used as relatives: من *man* 'who, the one who', ما *mā* 'what, the one which' أيّ *ayyu* with the genitive 'which of ...', أين *ayna* '(there) where', كيف *kayfa* 'how', متى *matā* '(then) when' (§461).

Note 1. Relative *mā* is not shortened after prepositions: لي *li-mā*, مما *mimmā* < *mīn-mā* (§45), etc. Concerning relative clauses, see §§421 ff.

Note 2. Relative *mā* has two other functions: *mā* 'the fact that' (subordinating *mā* §416), *mā* 'as long as' (§462).

§290. In combination with relatives, indefinite ما *mā* has a generalizing sense: مهما *mahmā* < **mā-mā* 'whatever', أئما *ʾayyūmā* 'whichever', أينما *ʾaynamā* 'wherever', متى ما *matā-mā* 'whenever', حيثما *haythumā* 'wherever', among others. See §461 for syntactic constructions.

Note 1. In addition to ʾayyū-mā, on occasion أئمن *ʾayyū-man* 'whoever' occurs with reference to persons.

Prepositions

§291. a) Primary prepositions: ب *bi-*, ل *li-*, في *fī*, ك *ka-*, مع *maʿa*, من *min*, عن *an*, (§45), على *alā*, إلى *ilā*, حتى *hattā*, لدى *ladā*, لدن *ladun*; see §§294ff.

Note 1. On the orthography of constructions with *bi-*, *li-*, *ka-*, see §§23; 22. Before the article, *min* is *min-a* (§54). In poetry, مع *maʿa* sometimes appears in place of مع *maʿa*.

Note 2. In poetry, *min* and *alā* may be shortened to *mi-*, *a-* (§49 e): مالإبل *mil-ʾibili* 'from the camels', علماء *al-māʾi* 'on the water'.

b) Secondary prepositions take the form of the accusative in the construct state (§145): أمام *ʾamāma* 'in front of, in the presence of', بعد *baʿda* 'after', بين *bayna* 'between' (§308), تحت *taḥta* 'under', حول *ḥawla*, حوالى *ḥawālā* 'around, about', خلف *khalfa* 'behind, after', دون *dūna* (§309), عند *inda* 'with' (§307), فوق *fawqa* 'above, over, on', قبل *qabla* 'before (in time)', قبل *qibala* 'in the direction of', نحو *naḥwa* 'toward', وراء *warāʾa* 'behind', وسط *waṣṭa* 'in the midst of'. More recent formations, e.g.: داخل *dākhila* 'within', ضد *didda* 'against', etc., are also included in this group.

Note 3. Many prepositions can be combined with من *min* or إلى *ilā*: من بعد *min baʿdi* 'after completion of', من فوق *min fawqi* 'from above, above', إلى فوق *ilā fawqi* 'over', من قبل *min qibali* 'on the part of, from, by', among others; also من على *min alā* 'from above, from on top of', من لدى *min ladā*, من لدن *min ladun* (§§305 f.). The preposition *min* in such constructions may indicate direction or be partitive (see §299 b and c). دون *dūna* and بدون *bi-dūni* have the same meaning.

Note 4. Diminutives (§81) are formed from several of the secondary prepositions: بعيد *bu'ayda* 'soon after', قبيل *qubayla* 'shortly before', فويق *fuwayqa* 'a little above'; similarly, تحيت *tuḥayta*, دوين *duwayna* (from *dūna*).

§292. a) All prepositions are followed by a genitive. The same rules that apply to substantives (§268) also hold, with a few exceptions, for the addition of personal suffixes (§269) to prepositions: مع *ma'a* : معي *ma'ī* 'with me', معك *ma'aka* 'with you', etc.; بعد *ba'da* : بعدي *ba'dī* 'after me', بعده *ba'dahū* 'after him', etc.; في *fī* : فيّ *fīya* 'in me', فيهم *fīhim* 'in them', etc. With *min*, 'an, and *ladun*, the *n* is doubled before the addition of the suffix of the 1st sing.: مني *minnī*, عنيّ *'annī*, لدنيّ *ladunnī*; but منك *minka*, عنك *'anka*, لدنك *ladunka*, etc.

Note 1. ك *ka-* 'as, like' and حتىّ *ḥattā* 'until' may not take personal suffixes (§297 d).

b) ل *li-* becomes *la-* before personal suffixes: لي *lī(ya)*, لك *laka*, لaki, له *lahū*, لها *lahā*, لكما *lakumā*, لهما *lahumā*, لنا *lanā*, لكم *lakum*, لكنّ *lakunna*, لهم *lahum*, لهنّ *lahunna*.

c) The stems of على *'alā*, إلى *'ilā*, لدى *ladā*, and حوالى *ḥawālā* end in *-ay* before the personal suffixes: عليّ *'alayya*, عليك *'alayka*, 'alayki, عليه *'alayhi*, عليها *'alayhā*, عليكما *'alaykumā*, عليهما *'alayhimā*, علينا *'alaynā*, عليكم *'alaykum*, عليكمنّ *'alaykunna*, عليهم *'alayhim*, عليهنّ *'alayhinna*.

§293. a) Prepositions for the most part indicate position or direction. Several are used to express syntactic relationships (§§294 d; 295 a-b; 299.1). Many verbs occur in constructions with dependent prepositional predicate complements, in which the preposition is part of the lexical unit of meaning and modifies the meaning of the verb: رغب في شيء *raghiba fī shayrīn* 'He desired something' and رغب عن شيء *raghiba 'an shayrīn* 'He desired something to be away', i.e., 'He loathed it', ظهر لنا *zahara lanā* 'It came into our view' and ظهر علينا *zahara 'alaynā* 'He got the better of us'. The corresponding verbal substantives, verbal adjectives, and elatives (§§124 ff.) appear in constructions with the same prepositions: هو أرغب عن ذلك منك *huwa 'arghabu 'an ḥālīka minka* 'He detests that more than you do'.

b) Prepositional phrases may appear in various syntactic positions: 1. dependent on a verb, verbal substantive, or verbal adjective (see above); 2. as the predicate in a nominal sentence: الجارية في البيت *(ʾa)l-jāriyatu fī 'l-bayti* 'The maid was in her chamber'; 3. as an adverbial modifier: تنام الجارية في البيت *tanāmu 'l-jāriyatu fī 'l-bayti* 'The maid is asleep in her room'; 4. in apposition: أخ في الدين *'akhun fī 'd-dīni* 'brother in religion'. *ka-* 'as, like' (§297) and *min* 'from' (§299 a-b), like substantives, may occur as subject, predicate, or object.

Note 1. Prepositions may appear in the genitive position only when they depend on other prepositions (§291.3). See §308.7 for an exception.

Note 2. See §§294.5; 302.3; 303.4; 309.1 for the use of prepositional phrases as commands; cf. 351.1.

c) Prepositional phrases that depend on verbal substantives or verbal adjectives frequently come before a verbal noun, especially when the verbal noun is the predicate and the preposition has a personal suffix or appears with a demonstrative: هذا على ذلك دليل *hādhā 'alā dhālika dalilun* 'This is proof of that', كنت إليها مشتاقا *kuntu ilayhā mushṭāqan* 'I was filled with longing for her'. Prepositional phrases may be placed at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis: وفيه قال الشاعر *wa-fihi qāla 'sh-shā'iru* 'And about him, the poet said ...', فبالحلم سد *fa-bi-'l-ḥalmi sud* 'Reign with compassion!'

§294. ب *bi-* in the sense of 'in contact with, close by' is used in the following ways:

a) 'in contact with, by': بعثه برسالة إلى أبيها *ba'athahū bi-risālatin ilā 'abihā* 'He sent him with a message to her father', بعث برسالة *ba'atha bi-risālatin* 'He sent a message', ما بي من غضب *mā bī min ghaḍabin* 'the anger that is in me'; in oaths, and other similar constructions: أقسمت بالله *aqsamtu bi-'l-lāhi* 'I swear by God', بسم الله *bi-smi 'l-lāhi* 'in the name of God' (§22 c); indicating content: أمر بقتله *'amara bi-qatlihi* 'He gave the order to kill him', بعد موته بيومين *ba'da mawtihi bi-yawmayni* 'after his death by two days', i.e., 'two days after his death'; – indicating time and place: بالباب *bi-'l-bābi* 'at the gate', بمصر *bi-Miṣra* 'in Egypt', بالليل *bi-'l-layli* 'at night'.

Note 1. *bi-* indicates the object to which something happens: عمل بشيء *‘amila bi-shayrin* ‘He occupied himself with something’ as opposed to عمل شيئا *‘amila shayan* ‘He did something’.

Note 2. *bi-* is used as a particle to introduce an oath: بالله *bi-l-lāhi* ‘by God!’. The oath particles *wa-* and *ta-* are also used in this kind of construction: والله *wa-l-lāhi*, تالله *ta-l-lāhi* ‘by God!’, والذي نفسي بيده *wa-‘lladhī nafsī bi-yadihī* ‘by Him in whose hand is my soul’ (i.e., ‘by God!’).

Note 3. Cf. §§260.1; 452 b on فيها *fa-bihā* ‘well and good’.

Note 4. بلا *bi-lā*, بغير *bi-ghayri* ‘not in connection with’ means ‘without’: بلا شك *bi-lā shakkin* ‘without doubt’, بغير ضرورة *bi-ghayri ḍarūratin* ‘without necessity, unnecessarily’.

b) Intransitive verbs expressing movement take on a kind of factitive meaning with *bi-*: أتاه بكتاب *‘atāhu bi-kitābin* ‘He came to him with a book’ = أتاه كتابا *‘ātāhu kitāban* ‘He brought him a book’, قام بغارة *qāma bi-ghāratin* ‘He undertook a raid’ (literally, ‘stood up with ...’).

Note 5. Similarly, in usages like: أنا لك بذلك *‘anā laka bi-dhālika* ‘I shall obtain that for you’, علي به *‘alayya bihī* ‘Bring him to me!’ (§302.3). See §222 on the use of the imperative with *bi-*.

c) ‘By means of, with the help of’: ضربه بالعصا *ḍarabahū bi-l-‘aṣā* ‘He struck him with a stick’, اشترى شاة بدرهم *(i)shhtarā shātan bi-dirhamin* ‘He bought a sheep for a dirham’; thus, also in the meaning of ‘in place of, as substitute for’: باع شاة بدرهم *bā‘a shātan bi-dirhamin* ‘He sold a sheep for a dirham’, أعطاه بأبياته ديناراً *‘aṭāhu bi-abyātihi dīnāran* ‘I gave him a dinar for his verses’, قتلته بزيد *qatalahū bi-Zaydin* ‘He killed him instead of Zayd’, بأبي أنت وأمي *bi-‘abī ‘anta wa-‘ummī* ‘You are instead of my father and mother’, i.e., ‘You take the place of my father and mother’; — with persons, often ‘in the person of’: شتمت به محبباً إليّ *shatamta bihī muḥabbaban ilayya* ‘You vilify in (him) his person one who is beloved to me’.

d) The nominal predicate or the predicate accusative (§382) in negative or interrogative sentences is frequently introduced by *bi-*: *تكن بصغيرة* *lam takun bi-ṣaghīratin* 'She was not small', *هل هو بصادق* *hal huwa bi-ṣādiqin* 'Is he sincere?'.

Note 6. In positive sentences, *bi-* as predicate is very infrequent (§363.1); it occurs somewhat more often with verbs with a declarative meaning:

سمّاه بكرم *sammāhu bi-karīmin* 'He called him a noble man'.

Note 7. *bi-* as a predicate occurs in other usages: *إذا ب* *idhā bi-* (§280 b), *حبّ ب* *ḥabba bi-* (§263.2), *كانّ ب* *ka'anna ... bi-* (§365.1).

Note 8. Several terms indicating totality and identity occur in apposition with *bi-*: *الّئاس بجمعهم* *(a)n-nāsu bi-jam'ihim* 'the people altogether' (§138.2), *هو بنفسه* *huwa bi-nafsihī* 'he himself', *في ذلك المكان بعينه* *fī dhālika 'l-makāni bi-'aynihi* 'in this exact place', *رجل بعينه* *rajulun bi-'aynihi* 'a certain man'.

§295. *لي* *(la-)* 'to' is used in the following ways:

a) 'to', in space and time: *انكبّ لوجهه* *(i)nkabba li-wajhihi* 'He fell onto his face', *لأوّل مرّة* *li-'awwali marratin* 'for the first time'; indicating the indirect object: *قال له* *qāla lahū* 'He said to him', *قدّم له شيئاً* *qaddama lahū shayan* 'He presented him with something'; — also to paraphrase the direct object of participles and verbal substantives (§§203.2; 206.3): *كان مضحكاً للئاس* *kāna muḍḥikan lin-nāsi* 'He was one who made the people laugh'; with verbs, if the object must precede the verb: *لّذين هم لربهم يرهون* *li-lladhīna hum li-rabbihi yarhabūna* (Koran 7:154) 'those who fear their Lord'.

Note 1. *li-* is used in expressions of time and date: *لوقته* *li-waqtihī* 'at its time', i.e., 'immediately', *لسنة مضت من ملكه* *li-sanatin maḍat min mulkihi* 'when one year of his reign had passed', *لسبع ليال خلون من شعبان* *li-sabi layālin khalawna min sha'bāna* 'when seven days had gone by in Sha'bān', i.e., 'on the seventh of Sha'bān'.

Note 2. See §294.5 on *أنا لكم به* *anā la-kum bihi* 'I am for you with him', i.e., 'I shall get him for you'; on *ما له* *mā lahū* with the accusative or a verb, see §285.1.

Note 3. See §438 on *li-* with the subjunctive; §195 with the jussive.

b) 'belonging to': كتاب له *kitābun lahū* 'a book of his (written by him or owned by him)', أنشد لأبي نواس *anṣhada li-ʿAbī Nuwāsīn* 'He cited a verse of Abū Nuwās', كان للعبد حمار *kāna lil-ʿabdi ḥimārūn* 'The slave had an ass', إنا لله *innā li-llāhi* 'We belong to God'; in constructions with persons, frequently with the meaning 'be someone's right, due' ذلك لكم *dhālika lakum* 'That is your due!', ... أن ليس له *laysa lahū ʿan ...* 'It is not your right, it is not possible for you, it is not allowed for you to ...'.

Note 4. In this meaning, *li-* is used to paraphrase the genitive after the indefinite state; see §146.1.

c) 'in favor of, for': بنى لنا قسرا *banā lanā qaṣran* 'He built a castle for us'; — 'with regard to, because of': تبكى لولدها *tabkī li-waladīhā* 'She cried over her child', جئتك لحاجة *jītuka li-ḥājatin* 'I came to you because of a concern', لذلك *li-dhālika* 'therefore', يقال له محمد *yuqālu lahū Muḥammadun* 'One says to him Muhammad', i.e., 'He is called Muhammad'.

Note 5. In contrast to على *ʿalā*, which expresses something to which someone has an obligation, *li-* refers to something to which one has a right: لي عليه ألف درهم *lī ʿalayhi ʿalfu dirhamīn* 'He owes me 1000 dirhams'.

d) Sometimes *li-* indicates the cause or originator: تهال له العين *tuhālu lahū ʿl-ʿaynu* 'One (the eye) is struck with terror by him'.

§296. في *fī* 'in, within, in the midst of' is used in the following ways:

a) location, 'in, inside' (place and direction): في البحر والبر *fī ʿl-baḥri wa-ʿl-barri* 'in the sea and on land', وقع في البئر *waqaʿa fī ʿl-bīri* 'He fell into the well'; time, 'in, during': في خلافة عمر *fī khilāfati ʿUmara* 'during the caliphate of Umar', في ما مضى *fī mā maḍā* 'in that which has passed', i.e., 'in the past'; 'in the midst of, among': بعثه في جيش *baʿathahū fī-jayshīn* 'He sent him in the company of, i.e., with an army', من فيكم الأكبر *man fikum-u ʿl-akbaru* 'Who among you is the oldest?', سرنا في خمسة رجال *sirnā fī kḥamsati rijālīn* 'We travelled in a party of five men'.

b) By extension, *fī* may mean 'in the realm of, with respect to, concerning, about': *اختلَفُوا فِي ذَلِكَ* *(i)khtalafū fī dhālika* 'They disagreed on that', *باب فِي الْخَيْلِ* *bābun fī 'l-khayli* 'a chapter on the horse', *مِثْلُ الْحَزْرِ فِي اللَّيْنِ* *mithlu 'l-khazzi fī 'l-līni* 'like silk in smoothness', i.e., 'smooth as silk'.

Note 1. On occasion, *fī* may mean, like *bi-*, 'in the person of': *قَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِيهِ أُسْوَةٌ* *qad kāna lakum fihi ṛuswatun* 'You had in him an example'.

Note 2. In arithmetic, *fī* indicates that number by which another is multiplied: *ضَرَبَ ثَلَاثَةً فِي خَمْسَةٍ* *ḍaraba thalāthata fī khamсата* 'He multiplied three by five' (See §129.5).

Note 3. *fī* indicates the object of desire in uses like: *هَلْ لَكَ فِي (أَنْ) لَاكَ فِي (أَنْ)* *hal laka fī (ʾan)* 'Do you desire to ...?', *مَنْ لَهُ فِي (أَنْ) مَنْ لَاهُ فِي (أَنْ)* *man lahū fī (ʾan)* 'Who desires to ...?'

§297. a) *ka-* 'as, like' is used in qualitative comparison: *رِجَالٌ كَأَسْوَدِ الْغَابَةِ* *rijālun ka-ṛusūdi 'l-ghābati* 'men like lions of the thicket', *قَدْ خَلَتُهُ كَصَخْرَةٍ* *qad khiltuhū ka-ṣakhratin* 'I imagined him as a rock', *كَذَلِكَ* *ka-dhālika* 'so, like this, thus' (§284 c).

Note 1. The personal suffixes are not added to *ka-*; however, they do combine with *مِثْلُ* *mithlu* (see below). Nevertheless, *ka-* may on rare occasion appear in constructions with independent personal pronouns: *كَأَنَا* *ka-anā* 'like me', *كَأَنْتَ* *ka-anta* 'like you', *كَهُوَ* *ka-huwa* 'like him'.

Note 2. Sporadically, *كما* *ka-mā* occurs in the sense of *ka-* (§285 c); cf. §418 b. Concerning *كَأَيُّ* *ka-ayyin*, see §287.1.

b) *ka-* frequently functions as a substantive: 'one like ...', 'something like ...': *كَالَلَيْلَةِ* *ka-'l-laylati* 'something like this night, a night like this', *يُرِينَا كَالْدِرَاهِمِ* *yurīnā ka-'d-darāhimi* 'He showed us something like dirhams'. In poetry, such expressions are sometimes combined with additional prepositions: *تَفَتَّرَ عَنْ كَالْأَنْحَوَانِ* *taftarru ʾan ka-'l-ruḡḥuwāni* 'When he laughed, he showed something like camomile flowers, i.e., teeth'.

Note 3. Sometimes *ka-* functions as a relative: كَيْن *ka-hīni* 'some-time when' (on حِينَ *hīna*, see §346). It is also used to indicate examples: الألوان كالحمرة والصفرة *(a)l-ahwānu ka-l-ḥumrati wa-aṣ-ṣufrati* 'colors like red, yellow ...'.

c) مثل *mithlu*, pl. أمثال *amthālu* 'something like, one like' (§§146 b; 388 b), which is inflected as a noun, has the same meaning as *ka-*: أمثالهم *amthāluhum* 'people like them', قل له مثل ذلك *qul lahū mithla dhālika* 'Speak to him in that way', أتى بناقة مثل ناقتي *atā bi-nāqatin mithli nāqatī* 'He came with a camel like mine'. It may also be combined with *ka-*: ليس كمثلته شيء *laysa ka-mithlihi shayrun* 'There is nothing like him'.

§298. مع *ma'a* 'together with, simultaneously with': خرجوا معه *kharajū ma'ahū* 'They went out together with him', ذهبنا به معنا *dhahabnā bihi ma'anā* 'We took him away with us' (§294 b), إن الله مع الصابرين *inna 'l-lā-ha ma'a 'ṣ-ṣābirīna* 'God is with those who are steadfast', مع طلوع الشمس *ma'a ṭulū'i 'sh-shamsi* 'with the rising of the sun', وقال مع ذلك *wa-qāla ma'a dhālika* 'And, moreover, he said ...'. Frequently, a simultaneous condition is referred to, because of which or despite which something has occurred: قتل مع قوته *qutila ma'a quwwatihī* 'Despite his strength, he was killed'.

§299. من *min* has two distinct uses: 'of, part of, some of' (a-b) and 'from, from the direction of, away from' (c-d).

Note 1. As a result of these two uses, *min* may be employed to paraphrase the genitive, when it is necessary to circumvent the formal requirements of the construct state (§§145 f.): بيت من بيوته *baytun min buyūtihi* 'one of his houses', في الجانب الشرقي من النهر *fī 'l-jānibi 'sh-sharqiyyi min-a 'n-nahri* 'on the east bank of the river'.

a) *min* 'of, part of, some of' indicates belonging to a larger entity: ليس هذا من عاداته *laysa hādha min 'ādātihi* 'This is not one of his habits', من تحبهم *minhum man tuḥibbuhum* 'Among them are those you love', أنت منه *anta minhu* 'You belong to him'. *min* also indicates kind or material: من الخوف شيء *shayrun min-a 'l-khawfi* 'some fear', هذا من عيش *hādha min 'ayshin* 'such a life', عدوك من أهل فارس *adūwukum min 'ahli fārisa* 'your enemy from among the Persians', i.e., 'your enemy, the Persians', من الحرير لباس *libāsun min-a 'l-ḥarīri* 'a garment of silk'. Instead of

referring to a whole, it may refer to an entity consisting of more than one part: *كُلٌّ مِنْ رِجَالٍ وَنِسَاءٍ* *kullun min rijālin wa-nisā'in* 'all, namely men and women'. With an indefinite genitive (§141 c), *min* is used in apposition as a means of explication, especially with proper names and personal suffixes: *شَلَّتْ يَدَا زَيْدٍ مِنَ الْقَاتِلِينَ* *shallat yadā Zaydin min qātilin* 'May the hands of Zayd (who belongs to the genus "murderer", i.e.), that murderer, wither!', *قَبَّحَ اللَّهُ مِنْ سِوْفٍ* *qabahaḥā 'l-lāhu min suyūfin* 'May God ruin them, the swords!', *حَيَّيْتَ مِنْ أَخٍ* *ḥuyyita min 'akhin* 'May you, a brother, be greeted!'. See also §421.2.

Note 2. See §425 c on *min* used to supplement a relative.

Note 3. *مِنْ غَيْرٍ* *min ghayri* (§325) means 'without': *مِنْ غَيْرِ خِلَافٍ* *min ghayri khilāfin* 'without contradiction'.

Note 4. In archaic usage, an accusative often replaces the *min* of explication; cf. §§128.2; 263.

b) *min* 'a part of' is used to indicate a partitive relationship, 'some of ... , someone of ...': *شَرِبْتُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ* *sharibtu min-a 'l-mā'i* 'I drank some (of the) water', *قَدْ أَصَابَ فُؤَادَهُ مِنْ حُبِّهَا* *qad 'aṣāba fuādahū min ḥubbiḥā* 'His heart was stricken with (some) love for her', *أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أَكُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ* *umirtu 'an 'akūna min-a 'l-mu'minīna* 'I was commanded to be one of the believers'; in negative and interrogative sentences: *مَا نَسِيتُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ* *mā nasītu min shay'in* 'I have not forgotten any of it', *هَلْ لَكُمْ مِنْ أَبٍ* *hal lakum min 'abin* 'Do you have a father?'. In combination with terms that denote place and time, *min* refers to a certain segment of the place or time: *مِنْ فَوْقِهِ سَحَابٌ* *min fawqihī saḥābun* '(In the space) above him were clouds', *مِنْ دَاخِلِ الْمَسْجِدِ* *min dākhlī 'l-masjidi* '(at a place) within the mosque', *مِنْ بَعْدِ مَوْتِهِ* *min ba'di mawtiḥī* 'in the time after his death', *مِنْ اللَّيْلِ* *min al-layli* 'in a part of the night,', i.e., 'at night', *مِنْ الْغَدِ* *min-a 'l-ghadi* 'the next morning', *رَجَعَ مِنْ وَقْتِهِ* *raja'a min waqtiḥī* 'He returned (in a part of his time, i.e.) at the same time, immediately'.

c) *min* 'from' indicates the direction from which something comes out: *خَرَجَ صَوْتُ مِنَ الْبَابِ* *kharaja ṣawtun min-a 'l-bābi* 'A voice came out of the gate', *دَخَلَ مِنَ الْبَابِ* *dakhala min-a 'l-bābi* 'He came in through (from) the gate'; — in constructions with other prepositions: *جَاءَ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْخَلِيفَةِ* *jā-*

'a min 'indi 'l-khalīfati 'He came from being with the Caliph', من فوق ظهر 'a min fawqi zahri 'l-farasi 'from (off) the back of the horse' (§291.3); in time: بعد حول من مقتل أخيه ba'da ḥawlin min maqtali 'akhīhi 'a year since the murder of his brother'. min frequently indicates the origin or cause: لقيت منك شرًا laqītu minka sharran 'I felt evil coming from you', هذا منك hādha minka 'this from you', i.e., 'this as a result of your behavior', من نبأ جاءني min nabā'in jā'anī 'because of a report that came to me', من بغضه min buḡḡdihī 'out of hate for him'; cf. §199.2.

d) In the meaning 'away from', min indicates distance: قريب منه qarīb minhu 'near him', يعرف الحيد من الرديء yarīfu 'l-jayyida min-a 'r-radīri 'He (knows) can distinguish the perfect from the worthless'; 'in relation to': أين نحن منك ayna naḥnu minka 'Where are we in relation to you', i.e., 'how incomparable is our situation to yours!', منزلته من الأمير manzilatuḥū min-a 'l-amīri 'His status in relation to the prince', ما هذا mā hādha 'l-ghulāmu minka 'What is this boy in relation to you?'. See §125 on the use of min in the comparative elative.

§300. منذ mundhu, مذ mudh (< *min-dhū §52.2) 'from ...on,' 'since,' 'ago' is treated as both a conjunction and a preposition. According to the rules of Arab grammarians, it should be treated as a preposition only when it refers to an unexpired period of time: منذ السنة mundhu 's-sanati = من السنة min-a 's-sanati 'as of, from this year on, since this year', but منذ سنة mundhu sanatun 'a year ago'. Contrary to this rule, the genitive nevertheless is often used after mundhu.

Note 1. A clause usually follows mundhu when used as a conjunction: منذ نحن من الأغنياء mundhu khuliqnā 'since we were created', منذ نحن من الأثرياء mundhu naḥnu min-a 'l-aḡhniyāri 'since we were counted among the rich'.

§301. a) عن 'an 'from, away from' designates complete removal or departure from: بعيد عن الحق ba'īdun 'an al-ḥaqqi 'far removed from the truth', سكت عني sakata 'annī 'He sat silent opposite (cut off from) me', شغله عن شيء shaghlahū 'an shay'in 'He occupied him away from something', i.e., 'he distracted him', مات عن ولد māta 'an waladīn 'He died, leaving behind a child'. Like min (§299 c-d), 'an also indicates distance and source: عن شمال 'an shimālīn 'on the left'; 'on the basis of': كان ذلك عن أمرك 'an shimālīn 'on the basis of'.

kāna dhālika 'an 'amrika 'That happened on account of your command',
 حَدَّثَنِي هِشَامٌ عَنْ أَبِيهِ haddathanī Hishāmun 'an 'abihi 'Hisham related on
 the authority of his father'.

Note 1. عَنْ يَمِينِهِ (شماله) 'to his right (left)' 'an yamīnihī (shimālihī) may
 be combined with min: مِنْ عَنْ يَمِينِهِ min 'an yamīnihī 'on the right side
 of him.'

Note 2. In the expression عَنْ قَرِيبٍ (قليل) 'an qarībin (qalīlin) or عَمَّا
 (قليل) 'ammā qarībin (qalīlin) 'in a short time, shortly' (cf. §285 c),
 'an designates a time interval.

b) عَنْ 'an has numerous lexicalized usages, such as the 'elimination
 of a condition': أَطْعَمَهُ عَنِ الْجُوعِ aṭ'amahū 'an-i 'l-jū'i 'He gave him some-
 thing to eat to dispel his hunger'; 'in defense of': أَقَاتِلْ عَنْكَ uqātilu 'anka
 'I fought in your defence'; 'opposition': فَسَقَ عَنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّهِ fasaqa 'an 'amri
rabbihī 'He deviated from the command of his lord'; 'as a substitute for':
 الْإِبِلَ الَّتِي نَحَرْتَ عَنْكَ l-ibilu 'latī nuḥirat 'anka 'the camels that were
 slaughtered instead of you'; 'incompatibility': ضَاقَ عَنِ السَّاقِ خِلَالَهَا dāqa
 'an-i 's-sāqi khalkhālūhā 'Her anklet was too small for her leg'; 'expos-
 ing': تَبَسَّمَ عَنْ دُرٍّ tabsimu 'an durrin 'She laughed showing [her] pearls (i.e.,
 teeth); also to refer to a topic, i.e., 'on, about': سُئِلَ عَنْهَا surila 'anhā 'He
 was asked about her'.

Note 3. 'an may refer equally to something that has been removed as to
 that from which it has been removed: عَفَا عَنْ ذَنْبِهِ afā 'an ḍhanbihī 'He
 forgave his sin' or عَفَا عَنْهُ ذَنْبُهُ afā 'anhu ḍhanbahū 'He forgave him his
 sin'.

§302. عَلَى 'alā 'on, above' is used in the following ways:

a) 'on top of', 'above': عَلَى وَجْهِ الْمَاءِ alā wajhi 'l-mā'i 'on the surface
 of the water, over the water', عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبٌ alayhi thawbun 'On him is (i.e., he
 wore) a garment': to indicate superiority: كَانَ أَمِيرًا عَلَى الْعِرَاقِ kāna 'amīran
 'alā 'l-irāqi 'He was commander over Iraq'; 'at the front of': لَقِيتُهُمْ عَلَى مَاءٍ laqiyaḥum
alā mā'in 'He met them at a watering hole', قَرَأَ عَلَى أَبِيهِ qarā'a
 'alā 'abihi 'He recited (the Koran) before his father, i.e., studied it under
 his guidance'.

Note 1. Infrequently in expressions of time: *على حين* *alā hīni* 'at the time of ...', *على عهد* *alā ahdī* 'in the era of ...'.

Note 2. *alā* as 'over, higher than' is used for comparison: *فَضَّلْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ* *faddalnā ba'dahum alā ba'din minhum* (Koran 2:253) 'We preferred some of them to the others'.

b) 'onto, into the presence of, before': *سَقَطَ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ* *saqata alā 'l-'arḍi* 'He fell onto the ground', *دَخَلَ عَلَى الْمَلِكِ* *dakhala alā 'l-maliki* 'He came into the presence of the king', *خَافَ عَلَيْكَ* *khāfa alayka* 'He was fearful in your presence' often to indicate that against which something is directed: *تَجَرَّعَ عَدُوَّنَا عَلَيْنَا* *tujīru 'adūwanā alaynā* 'You defended our enemy against us', *دَعَا عَلَيْنَا* *da'a alaynā* 'He invoked (God) against us', i.e., 'cursed us' as opposed to *دَعَا لَهُمْ* *da'a lahum* 'He invoked (God) in favor of them', i.e., 'blessed them'.

c) 'obligation, duty': *هَذَا حَرَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ* *hādhā ḥarāmun alaykum* 'This is forbidden to you', *عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَفْعَلَ ذَلِكَ* *alayka 'an taf'ala dhālika* 'You are obligated (it is your duty) to do that'; cf. §295.5.

Note 3. Similarly in these uses: *عَلَيْكَ بِهِ* *alayka bihī* 'Depend on him!', *يَلِيهِ عَلَيَّ* *alayhi bī* 'He must rely on me!'

d) 'on the basis of', for indicating the basis of a condition or action: *لَيْسَ حُكْمُهُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ* *laysa ḥukmuhū alā shay'in* 'His judgment is baseless', *هَذَا عَلَى قِسْمَيْنِ* *hādhā alā qismayni* 'This consists of two parts', *هُوَ عَلَى دِينِ آبَائِهِ* *huwa alā dīni ābā'ihī* 'He follows the religions of his fathers', *مَا أَنَا عَلَيْهِ* *mā 'anā alayhi* 'that (i.e., the condition) in which I am', *جَاءَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ أَبِي* *jā'a alā 'annahū 'abī* 'He came by virtue of his being my father', *صَالَحْنَا عَلَى أَلْفِ دِينَارٍ* *ṣālahanā alā 'alfi dīnārīn* 'He made peace with us on the condition (that he be paid) 1,000 dinars'; to express a negative pre-condition ('despite'): *قَتَلَهُ عَلَى صِغَرِ سَنَةٍ* *qatalahū alā ṣiḡhari sinnihī* 'He killed him despite his young age'; — often in the sense of 'following the pattern of, corresponding to, according to': *كَانَتْ عِدَّتُنَا عَلَى عِدَّتِهِمْ* *kānat 'iddatunā alā 'iddatihim* 'Our number corresponds to theirs', *هَذَا عَلَى مَا* *hādhā alā mā dhakarnāhu* 'This is according to what we have reported'.

Note 4. 'alā ... min is used to indicate distance: كان من مكة على ليلة *kāna min Makkata 'alā laylatin* 'It was a night('s journey) distant from Mecca', على ستة أشهر من خلافة عمر *'alā sittati 'ashhurin min khilāfati 'Umara* 'After six months of the caliphate of Umar'.

Note 5. على أيدي *'alā yaday*, على أيدي *'alā 'aydī* 'at the hand of' has the sense 'as a result of the act of, through, by'.

§303. إلى *'ilā* 'in the direction of, toward' is used to indicate:

a) a direction, a goal, or an obtainable end: إليك قطعنا الفلاة *'ilayka qaṭanā 'l-falāta* '(On our way) to you, we traversed the desert', أمر به إلى السجن *'amara bihā 'ilā 'l-sijni* 'He ordered him (thrown) into prison', إلى اليوم *'ilā 'l-yawmi* 'until today', إلى سنة *'ilā sanatin* '(after a period) of up to a year', ثمانون دينارا إلى مائة *thamānūna dīnāran 'ilā mi'atin* '80 to 100 dinars'.

Note 1. 'ilā may be combined with other prepositions (§291.3).

Note 2. In addition to *min ... 'ilā* 'from ... to', in post-classical Arabic, *min ... wa-'ilā* sometimes occurs; cf. §308.5.

Note 3. 'ilā often occurs for *li-* (§295), when there is ambiguity: هو أحب إليّ منك *huwa 'aḥabbu 'ilayya minka* 'He is dearer to me than you'.

b) a tendency to, belonging to, and the like: لونه إلى السواد *lawnuhū 'ilā 's-sawādi* 'His color tends toward black', كان إليه الشرطة *kāna 'ilayhi 'sh-shurṭatu* 'The police were assigned to him', الشام وما إليه من البلاد *(a)sh-Sha'mu wa-mā 'ilayhā min-a 'l-bilādi* 'Damascus and the country that belongs to it', هو إلى الطول ما هو *huwa 'ilā 't-tūli mā huwa* 'He tends to be somewhat tall'.

c) the immediate proximity: وجدناهم إلى نهر الأردن *wajadnāhum 'ilā nahri 'l-'Urdunni* 'We found them at the river Jordan', إلى جانبه *'ilā jā-nibihī* 'at his side, next to him'.

Note 4. As an order, إليك *'ilayka* means 'Keep back!, be off'; in the same way, إليك عني *'ilayka 'annī* 'Stay away from me!'.

§304. *ḥattā* 'until, to' (cf. §439) is occasionally treated like a preposition: *ḥattā 'l-baḥri* 'up to the sea', *ḥattā 'l-mamātī* 'until death'.

Note 1. In cases like *da'āhum bi-ajma'ihim ḥattā* 'Amrin' 'He summoned them all together up to and including Amr', *ḥattā* acquires the meaning 'even' and is treated in post-classical Arabic as a particle: *da'āhum bi-ajma'ihim ḥattā* 'Amran' 'He summoned them all together, even Amr', *qad jā'a kullu 'n-nāsi ḥattā 'anta* 'All the people have come, even you'.

§305. *ladā* 'at, near': *lāqaytuhū ladā 'l-bābi* 'I met him at the door', *mā ladayya* 'What is with me?', i.e., 'What do I have with me?' or 'What do I feel?', *ladā 'l-qayzi* 'in summer'; *atā min ladaykum* 'He came from you'.

§306. *ladun*, in the construction *min ladun* 'from' *min ladun* 'from' *hab lanā min ladunka raḥmatan* (Koran 3:8) 'Give us compassion from You!', *min ladun-i 'btidā'ihī ilā tamāmihi* 'From its beginning to its end'.

Note 1. Frequently, *ladun*, with or without *min*, is a conjunction 'since': *(min) ladun mata'a 'd-duḥā* 'Since the forenoon shone brightly; also *ladun ḡhudwatan ḥattā ḡḥābat-i 'sh-shamsu* 'from morning until the sun set' (§439). Also used as conjunctions are *(min) ladun 'an (ʾanna)*, *mundhu ladun* (§300).

Note 2. *min ladu* occurs as a rare short form.

§307. *inda* 'at' indicates that which is present or available: *shufa'ūnā 'inda 'l-lāhi* 'our intercessors with God', *indaka lahā dawārun* '(With you is, i.e.) you possess a remedy for it', *kānat 'indahū* 'She was in his possession (i.e., his wife)', *al-ḡضب 'inda 'l-ḡḥadabi* 'clemency considering the anger'; in time: *inda 'l-qaḥṭi* 'during the famine', *inda dhālika* 'then, thereupon, at the moment'.

Note 1. 'inda frequently means 'in the opinion of': *kāna ʿindana mayyitan* 'He was in our opinion dead', *mā ʿindaka* 'What do you think?'.

Note 2. 'inda may occur in constructions with *min* and 'ilā in a directional sense; cf. §§291.3; 299 c.

§308. a) *bayna* 'between, among' indicates both separation and connection between things: *jama'a baynahum* 'He brought them together', *yumayyizu bayna wajhayni* 'He distinguished (between) the two viewpoints'; in reciprocal relationships: *qālat-i 'n-nisāu baynahunna* 'The women spoke to each other'.

Note 1. In combination with *bayna*, verbal stem III means 'bring about separation or connection': *ādā baynahum* 'He promoted enmity among them', *lā'ama baynahum* 'He brought about a reconciliation between them'.

Note 2. *bayna yaday* ('between the hands of') means 'before, in the presence of': *qāma bayna yaday-i 'l-'amīri* 'He stood before the prince', also *bayna yaday sarīrihī* 'before his throne'; sometimes with the same meaning *bayna 'aydī*, *bayna 'arjuli* (from *rijlun* 'foot').

Note 3. *bayna* may be combined with *min* and 'ilā when they designate direction: *kharaja min baynihim* 'He departed from their midst' (§291.3).

b) 'Between ... and' is expressed by *bayna ... wa-*; when the pronominal suffixes are added or clarification is necessary, it is *bayna ... wa-bayna*: *baynī wa-baynaka* 'between you and me'. As a result of contamination from *min ... 'ilā* (*ḥattā*) 'from ... up to', one sometimes encounters *bayna ... 'ilā* (*ḥattā*): *bayna 's-Ṣafā 'ilā 'l-Marwata* 'between Ṣafā and Marwa' or 'from Ṣafā to Marwa'.

Note 4. In poetry, with the same meaning, *bayna ... fa-* (§329) is used with terms denoting places.

Note 5. Also as a result of contamination, the expression *وإلى (إلى) bayna ... wa-īlā (fa-īlā)* occasionally occurs; cf. §303.2.

c) *ما بين mā bayna* ('what is between') occurs instead of *bayna* when the expression is syntactically a nominative or genitive: *فرق ما بيننا وبينهم farqu mā baynanā wa-baynahum* 'the difference between them and us'; *mā bayna* also appears in the position of an accusative: *كان ينام ما بين المغرب والعشاء kāna yanāmu mā bayna 'l-maghribi wa-'l-īshā'i* 'He used to sleep (in the time) between sunset and evening prayer'.

Note 6. *قالوا فيما بينهم fī-mā bayna* is close in meaning to *bayna*: *قالوا فيما بينهم qālū fī-mā baynahum* 'They spoke among themselves'.

Note 7. In pre-classical Arabic, *bayna* may be rendered in the genitive: *مودة بينكم mawaddatu baynikum* 'the love between you'.

d) With an indefinite genitive singular (§141 c) following, *bayna ... wa-* indicates a whole consisting of several parts ("partly ... partly, some ... some"): *تراهم بين قائم وقاعد tarāhum bayna qā'imīn wa-qā'idīn* 'You see them, some standing, some sitting'. In this use, *bayna* may appear with partitive *min*: *تأتون من بين تاجر وأجير tartūna min bayni tājirīn wa-ājirīn* 'You come, some merchants, some workers'. Sometimes, *أو 'aw* 'or' occurs with the same meaning instead of *wa-*: *قوم بين هارب أو قاتل qawmun bayna hāribīn 'aw qatīlīn* 'a people, partly fleeing, partly killed'.

§309. a) *دون dūna* 'beneath' denotes an inferior position: *شعب دون القمة shi'bun dūna 'l-qunnati* 'a ravine below the peak'; mostly in reference to rank, value, or weight 'under, short of': *النحاس دون الفضة l-nuḥāsu dūna 'l-fiddati* 'copper is of less value than silver', *ليس بدونه laysa bi-dūnihi* (§291.3) 'He is not beneath him (in rank)'.

b) 'before, on this side', to describe a position that obstructs or protects against something: *إنه لكم دون الناس innahū lakum dūna 'n-nāsi* 'He stood (as protection) for you before the people', *أغلق دوني الباب aghlaqa dūnī 'l-bāba* 'He locked the door on me (closing me in or locking me out)', *إنّ دون الغد الليلة inna dūna 'l-ghadi 'l-laylata* 'Before morning is night'.

Note 1. دُونَكَ *dūnaka* '(There it is) before you!' as a command 'Seize it!' is used with the accusative: دُونَكَ الدَّرْهَمَ *dūnaka 'd-dirhama* 'Take the dirham!', دُونَكُمُوهَا *dūnakumūhā* 'Grab them/her!'. As an interjection *dūnaka* has the sense of 'look out, take care!'.

c) 'Apart from, to the exclusion of, barring, without', as when the hindrance is considered insurmountable: لَا يَكْتَسِبُ الْمَالُ دُونَ مَشَقَّةٍ *lā yuktasabu 'l-mālu dūna* (or بدون *bi-dūni*) *maṣḥaqqatin* 'Nothing is acquired without toil' عَشِيرَتُهُ مَعَ أَلْفِ عَبْدٍ دُونَ مَنْ كَانَ مِنْ عَشِيرَتِهِ *ma'ahū 'alfu 'abdin dūna man kāna min 'ashīratihī* 'He has 1,000 slaves, excluding his family members'.

Note 2. In this use, *dūna* is often combined with *min*: يَعْبُدُونَ الْأَصْنَامَ مِنْ دُونَ اللَّهِ *ya'budūna 'l-aṣnāma min dūni 'l-lāhi* 'They worship the idols (to the exclusion of God, i.e.), but not God'.

Particles of Exception and Restriction

§310. إِلَّا *'illā* 'except, unless' (< **'in-lā* 'if not'):

a) In positive sentences, the exception follows in the accusative: قَتَلَ كُلَّهُمْ إِلَّا أَبَاكَ *qutila kulluhum 'illā 'abāka* 'All were killed except your father', اشْتَرَاهُ بِمِائَةِ دِرْهَمٍ إِلَّا وَاحِدًا *(i) shtarāhu bi-mi'ati dirhamin 'illā wāḥidan* 'He bought it for a hundred dirhams save one (i.e., 99 dirhams)'.

Note 1. *'illā* 'if not' occurs rarely as a conditional (§452).

Note 2. Occasionally in post-classical usage, the personal suffixes are attached directly to the particle: إِلَّايَ *'illā-ya*, إِلَّاكَ *'illā-ka*, etc.

b) In negative sentences, among which may be included interrogative (§335 a) and unreal conditional (§453) sentences, the exception agrees in case with the general term (i.e., that from which the exception is made): مَا لَنَا نَصِيرٌ إِلَّا اللَّهُ *mā lanā naṣīrun 'illā 'l-lāhu* 'We have no helper but God', هَلْ رَأَيْتَ أَحَدًا إِلَّا عَلِيًّا *hal ra'ayta 'aḥadan 'illā 'Alīyan* 'Have you seen anyone but 'Ali?'; لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ *lā 'ilāha 'illā 'l-lāhu* 'There is no god other than Allāh' (§318 c), where *lā 'ilāha* is in the position of a nominative. The exception must be in the accusative, however, if it precedes the general term or is of another species: مَا لَنَا إِلَّا اللَّهُ نَصِيرٌ *mā lanā 'illā 'l-lāha naṣīrun* (see

above), *ما جاءني أحد إلا حمرا*, *mā jā'anī 'aḥadun 'illā ḥimāran* 'No one came to me but an ass'. Contrary to these rules, the nominative occurs sometimes instead of the accusative.

c) In negative sentences, frequently only the exception is identified, and thus, a positive restriction ('only') is expressed: *ما هذا إلا لأنفسهم*, *mā hā-dhā 'illā li-'anfusihim* 'This is only for themselves', *لا يعلم الغيب إلا*, *lā ya'lamu 'l-ghayba 'illā huwa* 'Only He knows the concealed'. Personal suffixes used as objects after *'illā* must be introduced with *'iyyā* (§272): *ألا يعبدوا إلا إياه*, *'allā ya'budū 'illā 'iyyāhu* 'that they worship only Him'.

d) Subordinate clauses may also follow *'illā*: *ما أظنه إلا قد مات*, *mā 'azunnuhū 'illā qad māta* 'I can only believe that he died', *لا يلتقي إلا وسيفي في يدي*, *lā yalqānī 'illā wa-sayfī fī yadī* 'He will not meet me, unless I have my sword in hand' (§409), *لا تسجد إلا أن تكون طاهرا*, *lā tasjud 'illā 'an takūna ṭāhīran* 'Do not bow down in worship, unless you are pure'. *إلا أن*, *'illā 'anna* (and *غير أن*, *ghayru 'anna* §311) is used in an adverbial sense: *كان لي ابن إلا أنه توفي*, *kāna lī 'bnun 'illā 'annahū tuwuffīya* 'I had a son (except that, i.e.), but he died.'

Note 3. *mā huwa 'illā* is used to introduce surprising events, e.g.: *ما هو إلا*, *mā huwa 'illā 'an rānī fa-'arafanī* (or *ḥat-tā 'arafanī*) 'He had hardly (no sooner) seen me, when (than) he recognized me'.

§311. *غير*, *ghayru*, *سوى*, *siwā* 'other than, different from' (§325) and the preposition *دون*, *dūna* (§309 c) also indicate exceptions. They are used either with the genitive or with affixed personal suffixes. The case of *ghayru* is determined according to the rules that hold for substantives after *'illā* (§310 a-c): *ما وجدت غيرك (سواك)*, *mā wajadtū ghayraka (siwāka)* 'I found only you', *ذهب الناس غيرنا*, *dhahaba 'n-nāsu ghayranā* 'The people went away with the exception of us', *من إله غير الله*, *man 'ilāhun ghayru 'l-lāhi* '...who is a god other than God ... ? (Koran 6:46; 28:71, 72).

§312. *ما عدا*, *mā 'adā*, *ما خلا*, *mā khalā* or *عدا*, *'adā*, *خلا*, *khalā* 'what goes beyond ...' are used like particles of exception. Consistent with their origin

as verbs, the accusative follows: *كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مَا خِلاَ اللّٰهَ باطلٌ* *kullu shayrin mā khalā 'l-lāha bāṭilun* 'Everything but God is vain'. By analogy with *سوى* *siwā* (§311), the genitive may also appear after 'adā and *khalā*.

Note 1. Verbal constructions with relative *mā* are also possible: *منع ما عدا واجبه* *man'a mā 'adā wājibahū* 'He refused to do whatever exceeded the bounds of his duty'.

Note 2. *حاشا* *hāshā* 'far be it!' (e.g., *حاشا لله* *hāshā li-llāhi* 'God forbid!') is used as a particle of exception like 'adā, *khalā*: *حاشى عليّ* *hāshā 'Alīyīn*, *ما حاشى عليّا* *mā hāshā 'Alīyan* 'except for Alī'.

§313. *إنّما* *innamā* is an emphatic and restrictive particle 'only'. While *innamā* stands at the beginning, that which is affected by it is usually, but not always, placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis: *إنّما هي خرقاء* *innamā hiya kharqāru ḥamqāru* 'She is only a slovenly, stupid (woman)', ... *إنّما قال ذلك لأنّه* *innamā qāla dhālika li-annahū* ... 'He said that only because ...'; very often adversative 'but, rather': *إنّما هو دينار* *innamā huwa dīnārūn* 'It is rather a dinar (not a dirham!)'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *innamā* can be understood as *inna* (§339) with relative *mā*: *إنّما أبلى عظامي حبّها* *innamā 'ablā 'izāmī ḥubbuḥā* 'What has worn out my bones is (certainly only) my love for her'.

§314. *إنّما* *immālā* 'at least': *هو إنّما رجل* *huwa immālā rajulūn* 'That is then at least a man!'; to restrict the imperative with a following *fa-* (§222.3) *إنّما فابصروا* *immālā fa-bṣirū* 'At least have patience!'.

Adverbs

§315. a) Adverbs denoting conditions have developed from various accusative usages into independent terms (§§373 ff.): *جدا* *jiddan* 'very', *جميعا* *jamī'an* 'altogether'; definite: *الهوينا* *(a)l-huwaynā* 'leisurely', *البتّة* *(a)l-battata* 'absolutely' (with negatives). Note here also analogical formations like *معا* *ma'an* 'together' (from *ma'a* §298), *أوّلا* *'awwalan* 'first' (§127 b).

Note 1. *كثيرا* *kathīran mā* 'frequently', *قليلًا* *qalīlan mā* 'seldom' with subordinate *mā* are used like *تالا-مّا*, *qalla-mā* (§262.1).

b) Terms indicating time in particular appear in the adverbial accusative: *yawman* 'one day', *laylan* 'at night', *ghadan* 'tomorrow', *qidman* 'once, in olden times'; definite: *al-yawma* 'today', *al-bāriḥata* 'yesterday'; with following genitive: *yawma 'l-waghā* 'on the day of the uproar', *layāliya 'l-īdi* 'in the nights of the festival', *yawma-īdhin* 'then, on that day' (§284.2); see also §§346; 420.

Note 2. Adverbial accusative forms are inflected following prepositions: *ba'da ghadin* 'the day after tomorrow', *ilā 'l-yawmi* 'until today'. After *ladun* (§306), the adverb may be uninflected: *ladun ghudwatan* (or *ghudwatin*) 'from early morning'.

§316. a) Accusative adverbs are often used to bid someone (to do) something (§375): *mahlan* 'slowly' or 'take it easy!', *ahlan wa-sahlan* 'Welcome!'.

b) Many adverbs used in this manner take the 2nd person suffix: *ruwaydan* 'leisurely', *ruwaydaka* 'take it easy!', *shānaka* 'It's your business!', i.e., 'Do as you wish!', *shānakahā* 'Do with her as you wish!' (§271).

§317. Several adverbs have the uninflected ending -u: *ba'du* 'later, afterwards', *tahtu* 'beneath', *fawqu* 'above', *warāu* 'behind', *ahu* 'above'. These can also be combined with partitive *min* (§299 b); *min fawqu* '(within the space) above'.

Note 1. Diminutives (§81) also figure among the adverbs: *qubaylu* 'a little before' from *qablu* 'earlier, before'.

Note 2. The ending -u also appears in *ghayru* 'nothing else, no more', *fa-ḥasbu* 'and that's all, only'.

Note 3. See §§284; 288 on demonstrative and interrogative adverbs.

Negation

§318. a) *lā* negates the imperfect (§184), the subjunctive (§196), the energetic (§198), the jussive (§195 b), the perfect when it expresses a wish (§182 b), and individual elements of the sentence: *rakibtu* 'I mounted' → *lā rakibtu* 'I did not mount'.

baḡhlan lā ḥimāran 'I rode a mule, not an ass', *fatān wa-lā ka-Mālikin* 'a young man, but not like Mālik'. See §294.4 on *bi-lā* 'without'.

Note 1. *lā* is affixed to particles that introduce clauses: *ʾallā* = *ألا* 'an *lā* 'that not', *ʾillā* < *ʾin-lā* 'if not' (§§310; 452), *law-lā* 'if not' (§455), *hal-lā* 'is not ...?, why not?' (§335), *kay-lā* 'so that not' (§438), *kallā* 'not at all, by no means'.

b) *wa-lā* continues the subsequent negation of sentence elements in a series of negatives. *lam yajid ʾinsā wa-lā jinnā* 'He found neither men nor ghosts', i.e., 'no one', *rajulun ḡhayru ṭawīlin wa-lā qaṣīrin* 'a man neither tall nor short'. In expressions that consist of several elements, *lā ... wa-lā* may be used instead of other negatives in the first element: *lā raʾā wa-lā samīʾa* 'He neither saw nor heard', *lā huwa ḡhū mālin wa-lā ḡhū majdīn* 'He is a man of neither wealth nor nobility'.

c) *lā* is used with a directly following accusative in the definite state (§142) as a general denial: *lā ṣhakka* 'There is no doubt'. This expression appears mostly in the subject position (§§367.2; 369 b): *lā laḏāṭ liṣṣīb* *lā laḏḏhāṭi liṣṣh-shībī* 'There is no pleasure for old men'; cf. 310 b.

Note 2. *ʾab* 'father', *ʾaḡhun* 'brother' (§150) appear in the construct state: *lā ʾabā laka* 'May you have no father!' (also on occasion *lā ʾabāka*).

Note 3. According to the rules of the Arab grammarians, the substantive should be in the indefinite state if it occurs in combination with a dependent prepositional phrase: *lā ḡājatan ʾilayhi ʾindanā* 'We have no need for him'.

Note 4. When there is more than one element in the negative phrase, the nominative or accusative of the indefinite state may occur in both elements: *lā ḡissā (ḡissā) lahū* (عقلا) *lā ḡissā (ḡissun, ḡissan) lahū* *wa-lā ʾaḡlun* (ʾaḡla, ʾaḡlan) 'He has neither feeling nor understanding'.

§319. لم *lam* with the jussive denies that an act has been accomplished or something has become a fact (§194); لَمْ *lam-mā* negates in a preliminary way ('not yet'): لَمْ يَمُتْ *lammā yamut* 'He has (had) not yet died'.

Note 1. Instead of *lammā*, *lam ... ba'du* (§317) may occur: لَمْ يَمُتْ بَعْدَ *lam yamut ba'du* 'He did not die — only later, i.e., not yet'.

§320. لَنْ *lan* (< *lā-'an) with the subjunctive negates a future action (§196 c): لَنْ يَنْجَحُوا *lan yunjihū* 'They will not succeed'.

§321. مَا *mā* is always at the beginning of the sentence. Unlike *lam* and *lā*, *mā* with the perfect denies the whole fact; with the imperfect, the action or its possibility: مَا جَعْتُ *mā ju'tu* 'I am not (did not become) hungry' (cf. §189), مَا يَرَاكَ *mā yarāka* 'He does not see you at all, cannot see you'.

Note 1. Typically, *mā* is used after particles expressing oaths and in sentences containing the particle of exception *'illā* (§310).

Note 2. See §367 a for *mā* used to negate nominal sentences.

§322. إِنْ *in* (§52.1) is functionally equivalent to *mā*: إِنْ أَدْرِي *in 'adrī* 'I do not know', إِنْ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ *in-i 'l-hukmu 'illā li-llāhi* (Koran 6:57; 12:40, 67) 'Judgment is God's alone'. This negative particle may be combined with *mā*: إِنْ جَزَعْتُ *mā in jazītu* 'I am not at all worried'.

§323. a) لَيْسَ *laysa* is an inflected negative (§209) and is used chiefly to negate nominal sentences (§367 a). The predicate is in the accusative or is introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): لَيْسْتُ بِخَيْلٍ *lastu bakhīlan* or لَيْسْتُ بِخَيْلٍ *lastu bi-bakhīlin* 'I am not miserly'. Verbal predicates may also occur: لَمْ نَصِلْ إِلَيْكَ *lasnā našilu 'ilayka* 'We do not come to you' (§§431 f.).

Note 1. أَلَيْسَ *a-laysa* (§335) 'is not?' often introduces negative interrogative sentences: أَلَسْتُ أُعْطِيتُكَ *a-lastu a'taytuka* 'Did I not give you?'.

Note 2. *laysa* may occur in combination with *kāna* when it indicates the past (§190): كَانْ لَيْسَ بِخَيْلٍ *kāna laysa bi-bakhīlin* 'He was not miserly'.

b) Uninflected *laysa* negates single elements of the sentence: لَيْسَ عَنْ هَذَا نَسْأَلُكَ *laysa 'an hādha nas'aluka* 'We are not asking you about that', لَيْسَ أَنَا قَتَلْتُهُمْ *laysa 'anā qataltuhum* 'It was not I who killed them'.

In non-classical usage, it also occurs with verbs: ليس نقبل *laysa naqbalu* 'We do not accept'.

§324. لا *lā* 'it is not' is used sporadically in pre-classical Arabic as a negative: لا حين مناص *lā hīna manāṣin* (Koran 38:3) 'But the time is none to escape', لا هنا *lā hannā* 'That is not so'.

§325. a) غير *ghayru* and سوى *siwā* 'other than, different from' exclude following substantives in the genitive, personal suffixes, or adjectives: زينب وغيرها من النساء *Zaynabu wa-ghayruhā min-a 'n-nisā'i* 'Zaynab and other (than her from among the) women', اتوكل إلى غيرك *natawakkalu ilā ghayrika* 'We place our trust in someone other than you', غير أحد *ghayru ḥadhin* 'not one, i.e., more than one, several', غير مرة *ghayru marratin* 'not once, i.e., several times' (§315).

b) *ghayru* negates a nominal predicate and attributive: إنها غير ملومة *innahā ghayru malūmatin* 'She is not blameworthy', رجل غير ملوم *rajulun ghayru malūmin* 'a man who is not reprehensible'. When there is more than one element to negate, *lā ... wa-lā* may occur instead of *ghayru ... wa-lā* (§318 b): رجل لا طويل ولا قصير *rajulun lā ṭawīlun wa-lā qaṣīrūn* 'a man neither tall nor short'.

Note 1 In post-classical usage, *ghayru* in constructions with attributives may take the article: الأشياء الغير الثابتة (*a*) *l-ashyā'u 'l-ghayru 'th-thābitati* 'the impermanent things' (§398.1).

Note 2. من غير *min ghayri* (§299.3) 'without' *bi-ghayri* (§294.4) may also be continued by *lā*: من غير أب ولا أم *min ghayri 'abin wa-lā 'ummin* 'without father or mother'.

Note 3. For *ghayru* used as a particle of exception, see §311; *ghayru mā*, §285 c; *lā ghayru*, §317.2.

§326. بل *bal* '(no) rather, on the contrary' counters a preceding proposition and introduces a correction or confirmation: أعطاني درهما بل درهمين *aṭānī dirhaman bal dirhamayni* 'He gave me a dirham, no, rather, two dirhams', ما أقمنا هناك يوما بل شهرا *mā aqamnā hunāka yawman bal shahran* 'We so-journed there not just a day, but a month'.

محکم دلائل وبراہین سے مزین، متنوع ومنفرد موضوعات پر مشتمل مفت آن لائن مکتبہ

Note 2. The Arab grammarians call this *wa-* with accusative واو المعية *wāw al-ma'iyah*, "*wa-* meaning *ma'a*".

Note 3. *wa-* with the accusative does not occur in nominal sentences: أنت وأبوك على ما نعلم *anta wa-abūka 'alā mā na'lamu* 'you and your father are in such a relationship, as far as we know'. Yet the accusative may be used after *wa-* in certain nominal phrases: أنت وذلك *anta wa-dhāka* 'you and that!', i.e., 'It is your thing!'; ما أنا والأمر *mā 'anā wa-'l-amra* 'What do I have to do with this affair?', إيتاك والحية *'iyyāka wa-'l-ḥayyata* 'Watch out for the snake!' (§272.2), شأنكم والزحيل *shānakum wa-'r-raḥīla* 'You may leave at your discretion' (§316 b).

§329. ف *fa-* 'and then, and so, and consequently, for' (§23) indicates a sequence: تغتسل فتطهر ثوبيك *taghtasilu fa-tuṭahhiru ṭhawbayka* 'You are to wash yourself and then to clean both your garments', جاءوا واحدا فواحدا *jā-ū wāḥidan fa-wāḥidan* 'They came one after the other', من الآن فصاعدا *min-a 'l-āna fa-ṣā'idan* 'From now on and beyond'; it designates what follows as a result of the preceding statement: ضربته فبكي *ḍarabtuhū fa-bakā* 'I struck him so he cried'; cf. §402.1.

Note 1. On *fa-* after 'ammā, see §336; *fa-* introducing the apodosis, §§447; 443.1; *fa-'inna-* 'then', §404 b; *fa-* with the subjunctive, §410; with the imperative, §222.3.

Note 2. In poetry, places are presented in sequence by *fa-*: غشيت ديارا بالبقيع فثممد *ghashītu diyāran bi-'l-Baq'i fa-Thahmadin* 'I came to dwellings in al-Baqī' and then in Thahmad'.

Note 3. After verbs expressing commands, decisions, and the like, the clause containing the statement of resulting action begins with *fa-*: أمر بالباب فأغلق *'amara bi-'l-bābi fa-ughliqa* 'He commanded the door to be closed', بدا له فابتنى مسجدا *badā lahū fa-'btanā masjidan* 'It came into his mind to build a mosque' (cf. §359).

Note 4. *fa-* links the verb to a verbal complement: سكت سكتة فأطالها *sakata saktatan fa-aṭālahā* 'He was completely silent and was so for a long time', تكلم الناس فأكثروا *takallama 'n-nāsu fa-aktharū* 'The people spoke and did so at length'.

§330. ثم *thumma* 'then, thereupon, next, furthermore' joins both sentences and words: *innahū 'aḡāma 'alā dhālika 'arba'ina yawman thumma ṭallaḡahā* 'He passed forty days in this way, then he granted her the divorce'; sometimes in an intensifying sense: *qad jarrabūnī thumma jarrabūnī* 'They tested me, and then they tested me some more'. Sometimes *thumma* indicates transition from general to specific: *jā'anā fatī min Qurayshin thumma 'aḡadu banī 'Abdi 'l-Muṭṭalibi* 'A young man came to us from the Quraysh, in fact, one of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib'.

Note 1. An alternative form, *thummata*, also occurs.

§331. أو *'aw* 'or' (§54.1) introduces alternatives: *ramā bi-sahmin 'aw saḡmayni* 'He shot an arrow or two'.

Note 1. See §411 for *'aw* with the subjunctive; in disjunctive conditional clauses, §459 a; cf. also §§308 d; 333.1.

§332. إن *in* and إِمَّا *'immā* (§459) are used to express alternatives: *immā ... 'aw*, *immā ... wa-'immā*, *إِمَّا ... أو*, and less often *إِنِّي رَجُلٌ إِمَّا*, *in ... wa-in*, *إِن ... أو*, *in ... 'aw* 'either ... or', e.g., *innanī rajulun 'immā maḡmūdun wa-'immā dhamīmūn* 'I am a man who is either praiseworthy or blameworthy'.

§333. أَمْ *'am* 'or' in questions offering a choice: *'a ... 'am*, on occasion *hal ... 'am* (§335), e.g., *indaka 'am min 'indi 'l-lāhi* 'Does this come from you or from God?'. The interrogative particle may be lacking following another question or in indirect questions: *lā 'adrī kharaja 'ilayhim 'am lā* 'I do not know, did he depart in their direction, or not?'. The alternative question may come after the statement: *ṣadaḡta 'am 'anā mukḡṭi'un* 'You have spoken the truth, or am I in error?'.

Note 1. *'aw* is on occasion used in alternative questions: *'arabiyyun 'anta 'aw mawlan* 'Are you an Arab or a client?'.

Note 2. On *'am* in disjunctive conditional clauses, see §459.1.

Particles Introducing the Main Clause

§334. ل *la-* (§§22; 23) 'truly, verily' confirms a statement and, as a rule, marks the beginning of a sentence; and almost always it occurs with an elative in the predicate position: *للموت خير من حياة على غمض* *lal-mawtu khayrun min hayātin 'alā ghamḍin* 'Death is truly better than life in gloom'; cf. also §198. In conditional clauses, *la-* may come before the protasis and apodosis (*la-in ... la-* and *law ... la-* §447 b). On *la-* after *'inna*, see §339 b.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *la-* sometimes is used with *mā* (§285 c): *لا لامّا، لاممّا* (§339.2). The latter is used, for example, to introduce oaths: *أقسم عليك لما فعلت ذلك* *uqsimu 'alayka lammā fa'alta dhālika* 'I beseech you, truly, not to do this!' (§456.1).

§335. a) ا *ʾa-* (§41 c) and هل *hal* begin interrogative sentences. *ʾa-* is used mainly when the question is left open, and *hal* is used mostly when a negative answer is anticipated and when the question is rhetorical: *أعلمت أنّي قد أسلمت* *ʾa-ʿalimta ʾannī qad ʾaslamtu* 'Do you know that I have become a Muslim?', *هل تذكرني* *hal tadhkurunī* 'Then do you remember me?'. Sentences introduced with *hal* are treated like negated sentences (§§294 d; 299 b; 310 b). See §333 on alternative questions.

Note 1. *ʾa-* comes before *wa-*, *fa-*, *thumma* (§§328 ff.); *hal* comes after. — On *هل لك في* *hal laka fī ...*, see §296.3.

Note 2. *ʾa-* sometimes is lacking: *معكم منه شيء* *maʿakum minhu shayʾun* 'Do you have any of it with you?'. —

b) Negative particles follow immediately after *ʾa-* and *hal*: *ألا* *ʾa-lā*, *أما* *ʾa-mā*, *أليس* *ʾa-laysa* (§323.1), *هلا* *hal-lā*, e.g.: *فهلّا تشكر لي* *fa-hal-lā tashkurū lī* 'Why would you not then give me thanks?'; often as an exclamation: *ألا أرسلت إليّ* *ʾa-lā ʾarsalta ʾilayya* 'Why have you not sent [it] to me?!'. — On *ʾalā*, *ʾamā* as interjections, see §347.

Note 3. *ألا ترى أنّ* *ʾa-lā tarā ʾanna* 'Do you not see that' presents a confirmation: 'After all, it is true that ..., Certainly, ...'.

§336. **أما** *ammā* 'as for, regarding' with a nominative following as a subject of a copulative sentence (§§368 ff.). The predicate clause is always joined with *fa-* (§329): **أما أخوك فأعلم أنه قد مات** *ammā akhūka fa-lam annahū qad māta* 'As for your brother, know that he has died'. Adverbial sentence elements and clauses may be set apart by *ammā*: **أما بعد ف** *ammā ba'du fa-...* 'Now then on to ...' (a formula for introducing the main topic).

§337. **رب** *rubba* 'many a' with the indefinite genitive following (§389) is mostly the subject of a copulative sentence (§§389 ff.): **رب رجل كريم قد** *rubba rajulin karīmin qad laqītu* 'Many a noble man have I met'.

Note 1. Often *yā* (§347) is used before *rubba*.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the feminine **ربت** *rubbata* appears on rare occasion. Sometimes, *rubba*, *rubbata* occur in combination with *mā* (§285 c): **ربما غارة** *rubbata-mā ghāratin* 'Many a raid'.

Note 3. **ربما** *rubba-mā* (with subordinating *mā* §416) 'many a time, sometimes, perhaps': **ربما أكتف يدي عنكم** *rubba-mā akuffu yadī ankum* 'Sometimes I restrained my hand from (striking) you'.

§338. After the particles **إن** *inna*, **لكن** *lākinna*, **ليت** *layta*, **لعل** *la'lla*, the subject of a nominal or copulative sentence (§§360 ff.; 368 ff.) in the accusative or a personal suffix (§268.1) follows. If the subject does not immediately follow, the 3rd masc. personal suffix appears as the "pronoun of the fact" (**ضمير الشأن** *damīr ash-sha'n*) and represents or anticipates the subject: **إنهم لا يفلح المجرمون** *innahū lā yufliḥu 'l-mujrimūna* (Koran 10:17) 'Surely the sinners do not prosper'.

Note 1. **أن** *anna* (§415) 'that', the subordinate clause particle corresponding to *inna*, is also followed by the accusative.

Note 2. *inna* and *lākinna* with the suffixes of the 1st person (*-nī*, *-nā*) are frequently shortened (§49 c): **إني** *innī*, **إنا** *innā* = **إتني** *inna-nī*, **إتنا** *inna-nā*; **لكني** *lākinnī*, **لكننا** *lākinnā* = **لكتني** *lākinna-nī*, **لكتنا** *lākinna-nā*. In combination with *la'lla*, the 1st person suffix *-ī* occurs in place of *-nī*: **لعلني** *la'allī* rather than **لعلني** *la'allā-nī*.

§339. a) إِنَّ *inna* in the meaning 'verily, truly' indicates that the following statement is remarkable: إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ *inna 'l-lāha 'alā kullī shayin qadīrun* (Koran 2:20, 106, 109, etc.) 'Truly, God is powerful over everything'. According to nominal sentence word order (§366), a prepositional phrase as predicate appears between *'inna* and the accusative: إِنَّ فِي الْقَلْعَةِ سَجْنًا *inna fī 'l-qal'ati sijnan* 'Surely, in the fortress is a prison'.

Note 1. إِنَّمَا *inna-mā* has a restrictive sense (§313).

b) The predicate after *'innā* is often marked by *la-* (§334): إِنِّي بِكَ لَعَارِفٌ *innī bika la-ārifun* 'I know you'. When the word order is predicate-subject (§366), *la-* may also come before the subject: إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةٌ *inna fī dhālikā la-ibratan* (Koran 3:13; 24:44; 79:26) 'Surely, in that is a lesson'.

Note 2. The closely related pre-classical particle إِنَّ *in* is not followed by the accusative, and the predicate is often marked by *la-* (§334.1): إِنَّكَ كَادَتْ بِاللَّهِ أَنْ كَانَ لِبَادِنَا *in kādat la-taqtalunī* 'She had nearly killed me', إِنَّ كُلَّ نَفْسٍ لَّا *wa-'l-lāhi in kāna la-bādinan* 'By God, he was corpulent', لَّا عَلَيْهَا حَافِظٌ *in kullu nafsin lamā (lammā) 'alayhā ḥāfīzun* (Koran 86:4) 'Over every soul there is a watcher', which could also be interpreted as 'There is not any soul, but a watcher is above it'.

§340. وَلَكِنْ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ *wa-lākinna kathīran minhum fāsiqūna* (Koran 5:81) 'But many of them are ungodly'. If no substantive or personal suffix follows, لَكِنْ (و) *(wa-) lākin* or لَكِنَّمَا *(wa-) lākinna-mā* (§416) occurs: لَكِنْ ضَرَبْتَهُ *lākin ḍarabtahū* 'But you struck him'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the subject in the nominative may follow *lākin* (cf. §339.2).

§341. لَيْتَ *layta* 'if only, would that', frequently with يَا *yā* or أَلَا *alā* (§347), introduces a sentence expressing a wish: لَيْتَنِي بَعِيدٌ عَنْكَ *laytanī ba'īdun 'anka* 'If only I were far from you!', يَا لَيْتَهُ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ *yā laytahū lam yaf'al* 'If only he had not done it!'. Rather than the accusative, a clause introduced by *'anna* (§415) may follow: لَيْتَ أَنَّهُ شَاعِرٌ *layta 'annahū shā'irun* 'Would that he were a poet!'.

Note 1. The predicate appears on occasion as a predicate accusative (§§381 f.): ليت زيدا شاخصا *layta Zaydan shākhīṣan* 'If only Zayd would start out!'.

§342. لعل *la'alla* 'perhaps' (§338.2): لعلها سترحمي *la'allahā sa-tarḥamunī* 'Perhaps she will take pity on me'. Verbal predicate clauses are often introduced by أن *an* 'that' (§414): لعل صاحبنا أن يهلك *la'alla sāhibanā an yahlika* 'Perhaps our companion has perished'.

Note 1. *la-* (§334) has become an inseparable component of *la'alla*. The form *'alla* without *la-* does occur in pre-classical Arabic.

Note 2. Verbal عسى *asā* 'it could be' (with أن *an* 'that') is occasionally treated like a particle and appears with the personal suffixes: عساه آلذي *asāhu 'ladhī yusammīhi 'l-arabu sūlān* 'Perhaps this is what the Arabs call Sūlān'.

Subordinating Conjunctions

§343. a) For conditional particles: إن *in*, إِمَّا *immā*, لو *law* 'if', see §§450ff.

b) Temporal particles: إِذ *idh*, إِذْهَا *idhā* (§280) 'if, when', لَمَّا *lammā* 'when, after', مَا *mā* 'as long as'; see §§442 f.; 462; 464.

Note 1. *mā* is often added to *'idhā*, and *an* is often added to *lammā*: إِذَا مَا *'idhā-mā* 'if, when' (§465), أَمَّا لَمَّا *lammā an* 'after, when'.

§344. مَا *an* (§196 b), أَنَّ *anna* (§338.1) 'that' and subordinating مَا *mā* 'the fact that' introduce subordinate clauses which occupy the position of substantives in the sentence; see §§414 ff. These particles make subordinate clauses dependent on prepositions and adverbs: بِأَنْ *bi-an*, بِأَنَّ *bi-anna* 'by (followed by a gerund), by means of the fact that ...', إِلَى أَنْ *ilā an* 'until, up to the point that', مَعَ أَنْ *ma'an* 'although', لِأَنَّ *li-anna* 'because', كَأَنَّ *ka-an*, كَأَنَّ *ka-anna* 'as if, as though', كَمَا *ka-mā* 'as', فِيمَا *fī-mā* 'during, while', بَيْنَمَا *bayna-mā* > بَيْنَا *baynā* 'during, while' (§49.1), بَعْدَمَا *ba-da-mā*, بَعْدَ أَنْ *ba-da'an* 'after', قَبْلَ أَنْ *qabla an*, قَبْلَ مَا *qabla mā* 'before' (§346.1), كُلَّمَا *kulla-mā* 'whenever', the more ..., أَوَّلَ مَا *awwala mā* 'the moment when, just when', etc.

Note 1. Subordinating *mā* often occurs instead of a substantive which would be dependent on a particle introducing the clause: *rubba-mā* (§337.3), *lākinna-mā* (§340), rarely also *layta-mā* (341), *la'allā-mā* (§342); also at times *mā* is joined to *anna* and *ka-anna*: *أَما ʾanna-mā* 'that', *كأَما ka-ʾanna-mā* 'as if'.

Note 2. A clause introduced with *ʾidh* (§343 b) may also be dependent on *baʿda* 'after': *بعد إذ baʿda ʾidh* 'after'.

§345. The following may function sometimes as prepositions and at other times as conjunctions: *لِ li-* 'so that, in order to' (§§196 b; 295), *حَتَّى ḥattā* 'until, so that' (§§196 b; 304), *مِنْذ mundhu*, *مِنْ mudh* 'since' (§300), *لَدُن ladun*, *مِنْ لَدُن min ladun* 'since' (§306). The following are used only as conjunctions: *كَي kay*, *لِ كَي li-kay* 'so that, in order to' (§196 b), *حَيْث ḥaythu* 'where, inasmuch as' (§441).

Note 1. These conjunctions sometimes occur in constructions with *ʾan* or *mā*: *مِنْذ أَنْ mundhu ʾan*, *مِنْ لَدُن أَنْ min ladun ʾan*, *كَيْمَ kay-mā*, *لَيْمَ li-kay-mā*.

Note 2. Interrogative particles used as relatives may also begin subordinate clauses: *kayfa*, *ʾayna*, *matā* (§289).

§346. Substantives expressing time in the adverbial accusative (§315 b) may be followed by a dependent clause in the role of a genitive (§420): *حِينَ ḥīna* 'at the time when', *يَوْمَ yawma* 'on the day when', *لَيَالِي layāliya* 'on the nights when', *رَيْث raytha* 'while', etc.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, *mā* frequently occurs with these adverbs: *حِينَما ḥīna-mā*, *رَيْثَما raytha-mā*. On the other hand, *qabla*, instead of *qabla-mā* 'before' (§344), sometimes behaves like a conjunction: *قَبْلَ أَصَافِر qabla ʾusāfiru* 'before I travel'.

Note 2. After the preposition *ʾalā* (§302.1), *ḥīna* may be uninflected: *عَلَى حِينَ ʾalā ḥīna* or *ʾalā ḥīni*.

Vocative Particles (Interjections)

§347. *يَا yā* 'O, oh' (vocative §§157 ff.; imperative §221.1; cf. §§263; 337; 341) — *وَا wā* 'oh, ah' (§158) — *هَآ hā* 'ha, oh' (cf. §279 b); as oath particles:

محکم دلائل وبراہین سے مزین، متنوع ومنفرد موضوعات پر مشتمل مفت آن لائن مکتبہ

Particles as Substantives

§350. Particles may be treated like substantives (on gender, see §112). As such, either they are cited without modification or they take nominal inflectional endings: مَضَى يَوْمٌ بَلَيْتَ لَوْ أَنِّي *maḍā yawmun bi-layta wa-law 'annī* 'A day passed with an "Oh would that" and an "If only I"'; in poetry, they are inflected: مَا لَيْتَ بِنَافَعَةٍ *mā laytun bi-nāfi'atin* 'An "if only" is of no use'. وَيْلٌ *waylun* 'woe, affliction', وَيْلَةٌ *waylatun* 'an expression of woe' are formed from *wayla-* (§348). From these derive adverbial accusative وَيْلًا *waylan* 'Woe!', وَيْلًا لَكَ *waylan laka* 'Woe to you!'

Syntax

Syntax: Sentences

Subject and Predicate

§351. Classical Arabic has three kinds of sentences:

a) Verbal sentence: The predicate is a verb. The word order is predicate-subject (§§355 ff.).

b) Nominal sentence: The predicate is a noun or a pronoun. The word order is subject-predicate or predicate-subject (§§360 ff.).

c) Compound sentence: The predicate is a verbal or nominal clause connected to the subject by a copulative pronoun (personal pronoun or suffix, subject pronoun incorporated into the verb). The subject comes at the beginning of the sentence (§§368 ff.)

Note 1. Prepositional phrases sometimes function as sentences; see §§294.5; 302.3; 303.4; 309.1. Interrogative particles also occur in such uses: كَيْفَ لِي بِهِ 'How can I get in touch with him?', أَيْنَ بِكَ 'Where can one meet you?', ... هَلْ لَكَ فِي ... 'Do you feel a desire to? ...' (§296.3).

§352. a) The subject is in the nominative. It is a substantive or a pronoun. Non-substantive nominal forms like adjectives and numbers function as substantives when in the subject position: جَاءَ مِنْهُمْ ثَلَاثَةٌ 'three of them came'. In addition, non-substantive nominal forms like numbers, *kullun* (§136), *ghayru-* (§325) and other similar forms, as well as those prepositions which may serve as substantives like *ka-* (§297 b) and *min* (§299 b) in constructions with the dependent genitive, may also be used as subjects: جَاءَ غَيْرُكَ 'There is something (burning) like oil in my liver', فِي كَبِدِي كَالنَّفِيطِ 'Someone other than you came'. Relative clauses and substantive clauses (§§414 ff.; 421 ff.) may also appear in subject position.

Note 1. The pronominal subject is incorporated in the verb (§355).

Note 2. After the introductory particles mentioned in §§338 ff., the subject is in the accusative. After *rubba* (§337) and other particles, the subject is in the introductory genitive (§389).

b) As a rule the predicate agrees with the subject in gender. Terms that refer to persons agree *ad sensum* also in number. Nominal predicates follow essentially the same rules of agreement as attributes (§§113 f.; 362). Terms that indicate quantity not infrequently agree *ad sensum* rather than grammatically (§§353 f.). See §§356 f. on the details of verbal predicate agreement.

§353. Terms indicating totality (§§136 ff.) and words like *ayyu-* (§286), *ghayru-* (§325), *mithlu* (§297 c) and other similar terms with the genitive following are considered masc. sing.: *كُلُّنَا قَتَلَهُ* 'All of us killed him', *كُلُّهُمْ شَاعِرٌ* 'They are all poets'. Yet, often the predicate agrees with the genitive *ad sensum*: *أَيُّ بُشْرَى أَتَانِي* 'What good news reached me?', *كُلُّهُمْ سَيَغْضَبُونَ* 'All of them will be angry'.

Note 1. Similarly, when *ka-* and *min* function as substantives (§352), the agreement is with the word in the genitive: *مَا حَمَلْتُ مِنْ نَاقَةٍ* 'No camel carried anything' (§299 b).

§354. The numbers from 3 to 10 are treated like feminine plurals, if the objects to which they refer are things: *ثَلَاثَ لَيَالٍ خَلَوْنَ مِنْ رَجَبٍ* 'When three nights of the month of Rajab have passed' (§295.1), *ثَلَاثٌ لَا بَدَّ مِنْهُنَّ* 'Three (things) are unavoidable'. Numbers over 10 in such cases are treated like feminine singulars: *لِأَرْبَعِ عَشْرَةَ لَيْلَةً بَقِيََتْ مِنْ رَمَضَانَ* 'When 14 nights in Ramadan remained' (i.e., on the 16th of Ramadan). Numbers referring to persons have predicates *ad sensum* in the masculine or feminine plural: *أَرْبَعَةٌ قَامُوا إِلَيْهِ* 'Four (people) came up to him', *هَؤُلَاءِ اثْنَا عَشَرَ رَجُلًا* 'These are 12 men'. Cf. §399.

Note 1. *Ad sensum* agreement may occur even when a verbal predicate comes first (§356): *ثَمَاشُوا إِلَيْهِ ثَلَاثَتِهِمْ* 'Three of them went to him'.

Note 2. Numbers in the abstract are feminine singular: *السَّبْعَةُ تُفْجِرُ عَنْ الثَّمَانِيَةِ وَاحِدًا* 'Seven is one short of eight'; in post-classical Arabic, however, it is usually masculine singular: *سَبْعَةٌ نَاقِصٌ ثَلَاثَةٌ يُسَاوِي أَرْبَعَةً* 'Seven minus three is four' (§129.5).

Verbal Sentences

§355. The pronominal subject is incorporated in the verb: لَعِبَ 'He played', يَلْعَبُ 'He plays'. The substantive subject follows the 3rd person masculine or feminine singular (§356); likewise, a personal pronoun follows the verb for emphasis (§266). Other sentence elements may intervene between the verb and subject: اِنْتَهَى إِلَى الْخُلَيْفَةِ الْخَبْرُ 'The news reached the Caliph'. If the subject has more than one verbal predicate, the subject comes after the first verb: صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ 'May God bless him and grant him salvation'.

Note 1. When the subject is placed before the verbal predicate, the sentence is considered compound (§368 ff.).

Note 2. See §§318–323 on the negation of verbal predicates.

§356. Agreement between verbal predicate and subject:

a) The 3rd masculine singular of the verb comes before masculine subjects, regardless of whether it is sing., dual, or plural: جَاءَ سَارِقٌ 'A thief came', جَاءَ سَارِقَانِ 'Two thieves came', جَاءَ سَارِقُونَ 'Thieves came'. Frequently, the 3rd masc. sing. also precedes feminine subjects (sing. or plural), especially if other sentence elements intervene between subject and predicate: أَتَى الْقَاضِيَّ رِسَالَةٌ 'A message came to the judge', تَغَيَّرَ الْأُمُورُ 'The circumstances changed'.

b) The 3rd fem. sing. usually precedes feminine subjects (§§110 ff.); the 3rd masc. sing. may appear instead, except before sing. terms that refer to female persons and the fem. dual: جَاءَتْ سَارِقَةٌ 'A thief (fem.) came', جَاءَتِ سَارِقَتَانِ 'Two thieves (fem.) came'.

Note 1. Before the names of clans (§86 b), including those consisting of بنو *banū* 'sons of ...' (§385.3), the predicate is usually in the 3rd. fem. sing.: قَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ 'The Jews said'.

Note 2. Agreement *ad sensum* in number in verbal sentences is attested only exceptionally: اِحْمَرَّتَا عَيْنَاهُ 'Both his eyes turned red'.

§357. Agreement of a succeeding verbal predicate with a subject already mentioned in the sentence is strict, and agreement in number is, as a rule, *ad sensum* with terms referring to persons (cf. §114): جَاءَ زَيْدٌ وَأَبُوهُ فَقَالَا

‘Zayd and his father came, and then they said’, كَانَ النَّاسُ يَقُولُونَ, ‘The people used to say’, بَكَتِ النِّسَاءُ وَعَوَّلْنَ ‘The women cried and wailed’; but also سَمِعَتْ قُرَيْشٌ فَعَضِبَتْ ‘The Quraysh (§86 b) heard (it) and became angry’.

Note 1. After place names, the inhabitants are frequently referred to without explicitly naming them: أَتَى الْيَمَنَ حَارِثُوهُ ‘He came to the Yemen and there they (i.e., the Yemenis) fought with him’; also outside the subject-predicate context: نَزَلَ بِحِضْنِ حَوَاشِي فَقاتَلَهُمْ ‘He stopped at the fortress of Ḥuwāthā and fought them (the garrison)’.

§358. An unspecified subject may be expressed—more frequently than by such terms as رَجُلٌ, اِمْرُؤٌ, ‘man’, أَحَدٌ, ‘one’, among others—in the following ways:

a) With the 2nd masc. sing. (less often the plural): تَحَالٌ ‘You think’, i.e., ‘It is thought, one thinks, they think’; with the 3rd masc. plural: سَمِعُوا صَوْتًا ‘They heard, i.e., one heard a voice’; sometimes with 3rd masc. sing.: إِذَا مَاتَ ظَهَرَ لَهُ الْأَشْيَاءُ عَلَى خِلَافِ مَا يَشَاهِدُهُ الْآنَ ‘When someone dies, things seem to him different from how he now sees them’; with the passive without a subject, see §199 b.

Note 1. Similarly, in nominal constructions with the personal suffixes: كَقَوْلِكَ ‘like your speech’, or كَقَوْلِهِمْ ‘like their speech’, i.e., ‘as they say, as it is said, as one says’.

b) With the active participle of the verb which forms the predicate; as a singular, the participle is usually indefinite, as a plural, definite: قَالَ قَائِلٌ ‘Someone said’, لَا يَشْغُلُكَ عَنْهُ شَاغِلٌ ‘Don’t let anything distract you!’, لَمْ يَرَ آرَأَوْنَ مِثْلَهُ ‘No one ever saw anyone like him.’

Note 2. Likewise, with nominal constructions: لَوْمَةٌ لَأَيِّمٍ ‘someone’s blame’.

§359. The absence of the subject occurs with the passive of intransitive and, occasionally, transitive verbs (§199 b): غُشِيَ عَلَيْهِ ‘There was a covering thrown over him, i.e., he fainted’. There are only a few other cases of the unmentioned subject, e.g.: كَفَى بِاللَّهِ شَهِيدًا ‘God is a sufficient witness’

(Koran 4:79, 166; 10:29, etc.), بَدَا لَهُ 'It seemed good to him', i.e., 'He decided' (as in the example cited in §329.3).

Note 1. When the subject can be determined from the context, it is not a case of a truly lacking subject: لَوْ أَقْمَنْتَ لَسَرْنَا 'If you would remain, it would make us happy', فَذَهَبَتْ مَثَلًا 'Then it (what was told) became a proverb', لَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الرَّابِعِ 'when it was [on] the fourth day'.

Note 2. Observe that verbs which incorporate an element of time always take a personal subject: لَمَّا أَصْبَحْنَا أَنْصَرَفْنَا 'When we woke up in the morning', i.e., 'when it was morning, we left.'

Nominal Sentences

§360. The nominal sentence describes a condition which exists or a desired one: اَلسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ 'Peace be on you!' (a Muslim greeting). To refer to a past and future condition, a verbal sentence with كَانَ 'was' or يَكُونُ 'will be' is used (§§382 a; 190.2).

Note 1. Terms referring to time are sometimes the subject of a nominal sentence: نَهَارُهُ صَائِمٌ وَلَيْلُهُ قَائِمٌ 'His day is fasting, and his night is standing', i.e., 'Daytime he fasts, and nighttime he is awake'.

§361. The predicate of a nominal sentence may be a noun, pronoun, prepositional phrase (§293), or adverb (§§315 ff.), e.g.: هُمْ فَوْقُ 'They are above', كَيْفَ حَالُكَ 'How are you?'. In addition, relative clauses (§§421 ff.) and subordinate clauses beginning with 'an, 'anna, mā (§§414 ff.) may be predicates. Adjectival predicates are as a rule asyndetically coordinated, i.e., without a conjunction: إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ 'God is forgiving and merciful'.

Note 1. See §202 on the use of the predicative participle.

§362. Adjectives in the predicate are in the nominative of the indefinite state and agree with the subject (§§113 f.): اَلْوَلَدُ صَغِيرٌ 'The boy is small', اَلنَّاقَةُ كَوْمَاءُ 'The camel is big-humped', اَلْأَلْوَانُ مُخْتَلِفَةٌ 'The colors are diverse', هُمْ نِيَامٌ 'They are sleeping' (§122). On agreement in cases like: كُلُّ جَزْبٍ بِمَا لَدَيْهِمْ فَرِحُونَ 'Each party is rejoicing in what is with them' (Koran 23:53; 30:32), see §353.

§363. a) Substantives in the predicate are in the nominative of the indefinite state and, as such, have a qualifying sense: هُوَ رَجُلٌ 'He is a man', نَحْنُ حَرْبٌ لَّكَمُ 'We are war (i.e., hostile) to you', ثَوْبُهُ خَرِيرٌ 'His garment is silk (i.e., made of silk)', أَنْتَ ثِقَّةٌ 'You are reliability (i.e., reliable)', أَمْرُكَ طَاعَةٌ 'Your order means obedience', اَلَّذَهْرُ يَوْمٌ وَلَيْلَةٌ 'Time consists of day and night'.

b) A definite substantive or a predicate that serves as a substantive has an identifying sense: هَذِهِ الْفَرَسُ فَرَسُكَ 'This horse is your horse', أَنْتَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ 'You are the commander of the faithful'. If a predicate substantive is made definite with the article, a compound sentence with a copulative subject pronoun (§370 a) results: أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ 'Those are the unbelievers'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the definite predicate is occasionally introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): هُوَ بِهِ 'He is it'.

Note 2. Matching subject and predicate are used to emphasize an identity: أَنْتَ أَنْتَ 'You are really you', أَرْضُكَ أَرْضُكَ 'Your land is really yours'.

§364. The 3rd person pronoun in the predicate always refers to a person; neuter "it" does not exist in Arabic: أَنْتَ هُوَ 'You (masc.) are it' (literally 'you are he'), أَنْتِ هِيَ 'You (fem.) are it' (literally 'you are she'), أَنْتُمْ هُمْ 'You (pl.) are it', إِنَّهُ هُوَ 'Verily, he is it', هَذَا هُوَ 'This is it, there it is', هَذِهِ عَجُوزٌ 'This is an old woman', 'There is an old woman'.

§365. a) The 3rd person pronoun is often lacking in the subject or predicate position, especially after *idhā* (§280) and *fa-* (§329): إِنْفَتَتْ فَإِذَا الْوَزِيرُ 'I turned around, and there (it) was the vizier', إِنْ كَانَ مَعْبَدٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا فَهَذَا 'If there is a Ma'bad in the world, then this one is it' (§448).

b) In the following formulas, the 3rd person pronoun is regularly lacking: حَسْبُكَ 'It is enough for you!', قَدْرِي or قَدْرِي 'Enough for me!', 'Enough for you!', etc., كَانَ 'It is as if ...', e.g., وَكَأَنِّي أَمْشِي فِي حَتَّةٍ 'And it is as if I were walking in a garden'.

Note 1. *ka-anna* may occur with predicate *bi-* (§294 d): كَأَنِّي بِكَ 'It is as if I had something to do with you', 'It is as if I saw you before me'. It is often augmented by a circumstantial accusative (§383) or a circumstantial clause

(§436): كَأَنَّكَ بِهِ قَدْ أَذْرَكَكَ 'It is as if you had something to do with him as he has already met you', i.e., 'It seems that he has already met you'.

§366. The word order is usually subject-predicate. Definite predicates, however, may come at the beginning of the sentence: الْحَارِثَةُ فِي الْبَيْتِ 'The maid is in her chamber', but فِي الْبَيْتِ جَارِيَةٌ 'In her chamber is the maid'. Likewise, sentence elements called into question appear at the beginning: مَنْ فِي الْبَيْتِ 'Who is in the room?' and analogously in the reply: جَارِيَةٌ فِي الْبَيْتِ 'A maid is in the room'.

Note 1. The introductory particle 'inna (§339) has no influence on the position of words in the nominal sentence: إِنَّ فِي الْبَيْتِ جَارِيَةً 'Verily, in the room is a slave-girl'.

§367. a) A nominal sentence is negated with *mā*, 'in, and *laysa* (§§321ff.). After *mā* and 'in the predicate is in the nominative; after *laysa*, in the accusative. The predicate may also be introduced with *bi-* (§294 d): مَا أَنْتَ بِخَيْلٍ or لَنْتَ بِخَيْلٍ 'You are not miserly'. An indefinite subject is frequently introduced with partitive *min* (§299 b): مَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ 'You have no protector apart from God' (Koran 2:107; 9:116; 29:22; etc.); cf. §318 b.

Note 1. The use of so-called مَا الْحِجَازِيَّةُ "the Hījāzī *mā*", according to which the predicate follows in the accusative, as with *laysa*, is limited to pre-classical Arabic: مَا هَذَا بَشَرًا 'This is no mortal' (Koran 12:31).

Note 2. The subject may be negated with the particle of general denial *lā* (§318 c): لَا شَاعِرٍ مِثْلَهُ 'There is no poet like him'.

b) Nominal predicates may be negated with *ghayru* (§325 b). In this case, agreement of the adjective is unaffected: دِيَارُنَا غَيْرُ بَعِيدَةٍ 'Our dwellings are not far'.

Compound Sentences

§368. The subject of a compound sentence is always at the beginning. Any nominal or pronominal part of the sentence may become the subject of a copulative sentence by being placed at the beginning for emphasis. In

the predicate clause, then, a copulative personal pronoun or personal suffix appears for the subject: زَيْدٌ مَاتَ أَبُوهُ 'Zayd, his father died' as opposed to مَاتَ أَبُو زَيْدٍ 'The father of Zayd died'. If the subject of a copulative sentence is also a subject in the predicate clause, the subject pronoun that is incorporated in the verb functions as a copulative pronoun, provided there is a verbal clause. According to §357, there is strict agreement between verb and subject: مَعْصِيَةُ الْعَاقِلِ تُورِثُ الْحُزْنَ 'The disobedience of the sensible one engenders sadness'.

§369. a) The subject may come at the beginning of the sentence for reasons of context and prominence and usually in connection with the use of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns: أَيُّ رَجُلٍ جَاءَ 'Which man came?'. The same also occurs with the introductory particles *idhā* (§280), *ammā* (§336), and *inna*, *lākinna*, *la'alla*, *layta* (§§338 ff.). The introductory genitive (§389) after *wa-* and *rubba* regularly appears at the beginning of the sentence and is the subject of a compound sentence.

b) Spontaneous placement of the subject at the beginning of the sentence is used to emphasize contrasts: الشَّاهِدُ يَرَى مَا لَا يَرَى الْعَائِبُ 'The eyewitness sees what the one who is absent does not'. Similarly: لَبِغَمَ الْفَتَى بُنْتَانٌ لَا طَعَنْتَ عَلَيْهِ 'What an excellent youth you have slandered!' (§§259 ff.). أَمْرٌ أَنَا فِي طَلَبِ مِنْهُ مُنْذُ عَشْرِينَ سَنَةً 'Two (things) are unavoidable', 'A certain thing I have been seeking for twenty years'.

Note 1. See §§409 a; 433 ff.; 428 ff. on copulative subordinate clauses.

§370. The predicate of a compound sentence is a verb or a nominal clause in which a copulative pronoun refers to the subject.

a) The copulative pronoun is the subject of the predicate clause: أَوَّلًا تِلْكَ الْعَاقِلُ لَا يُصَاحِبُ الْآفِرَارَ 'Those are the unbelievers' (§363 b), 'The sensible one does not associate with the evil ones'.

Note 1. The copulative personal pronoun may be lacking before an indefinite nominal predicate: أَمَّا ثِيَابُهُمْ فَبَيْضٌ 'As for their garments, they are white'.

b) The copulative pronoun is the object of a predicate clause: إِنِّي آلَهُوِي قَدْ غَلَبَنِي 'Look at me! Passion has conquered me'. In these examples,

the copulative pronoun may be lacking, unless ambiguity results: رَبُّ كُنُيسٍ 'شَرِبَتْهَا many a cup have you drunk' (rather than شَرِبَتْ).

Note 2. In these cases, a substantive which becomes prominent by its placement at the beginning of the sentence appears on occasion in the accusative as a result of prolepsis: وَالْقَمَرَ قَدَرْنَا مَنَازِلَ 'And the moon — we have determined for it stations' (Koran 36:39).

c) The copulative pronoun occupies the position of the genitive in the predicate clause: وَالظُّلْمُ مَرْعَىٰ وَخِيمٌ 'And tyranny, its pasturing ground is unhealthy'.

Predicate Complements

§371. a) Nominal, prepositional, and verbal complements may be added to the verbal predicate. The nominal predicate complement is in the accusative (§§372 ff.). See §293 on the use of prepositional predicate complements. Verbal predicate complements are termed circumstantial clauses (§§431 ff.).

b) In nominal sentences, prepositional phrases (§293) or circumstantial expressions of adverbial origin (§§315 ff.) may be appended to the predicate: هُوَ أَسَدٌ 'هُوَ أَسَدٌ' 'Kings are (no more than) dust before God', إِنَّ الْمُلُوكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تُرَابٌ 'He is a lion on the day of the battle'.

Uses of the Accusative

§372. When it is governed by a verb, the accusative is the object, inner (absolute) object, or predicate accusative. Additional uses of the accusative, namely, adverbial expressions describing circumstances and denominal expressions indicating conditions, have developed from the accusative and assumed a status of their own. The accusative governed by the verb as a rule follows the verb; placement of the accusative first for emphasis does, however, occasionally occur (§370.2).

Note 1. On the accusative as vocative, §§157 f.; with the general negation, §318 c; after *wa-* 'with', §328 b; with numbers, §§130 f.; after particles of exception, §§310 a; 312; after introductory particles, §§338 ff.; in negative nominal sentences, §367.

Accusative as Object

§373. The accusative indicates the direct object on which an action is effected: يَطْلُبُ الْعِلْمَ 'He seeks knowledge', قَدِمَ الْبَصْرَةَ 'He reached Basra', تَبِعَ أَبَاهُ 'He followed his father', أَتَاهُ 'He came to him'.

Note 1. One must determine from the lexicon which verbs are used with the object accusative. Occasionally, either the accusative or a preposition is used: دَهَبَ إِلَى الشَّامِ or دَهَبَ الشَّامَ 'He went to Syria'.

Note 2. Pronominal object complements may be omitted from verbs that appear in quick succession: قُلْتُ لَهُ حَدِّثْنِي فَفَعَلَ 'I said to him: Report to me. He did (it)'.

Note 3. An unspecified object may be expressed with a verbal adjective of the same verbal stem: قَتَلَ قَتِيلًا 'He killed someone'.

§374. a) Causative verbs and those with related meanings may take an additional object accusative referring to a person: عَلَّمَهُ الْقِرَاءَةَ 'He taught him reading', أَعْطَى ابْنَتَهُ نِطَاقًا 'He gave his daughter a girdle', أَلْبَسَنِي ثِيَابَهُ 'He clothed me in his garments', قُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ وَأَهْلِيكُمْ نَارًا وَقُودُهَا النَّاسُ 'Guard yourselves and your families against a fire whose fuel is men ...' (Koran 66:6). Cf. also §§271 f.

Note 1. With certain verbs, the second accusative is a predicate accusative (§§380 ff.).

b) If verbs like these appear in the passive (§§199 f.), the personal object becomes the subject, while the second accusative remains unaffected: أُعْطِيَتْ نِطَاقًا 'She was given a girdle', 'She received a girdle', أَوْتِنَا كِتَابًا 'We received a letter', passive formation of أَتَانَا كِتَابًا 'He sent us a letter'.

Note 2. The intransitive basic stem is treated like a passive: لَبِسْتُ ثِيَابَهُ 'I dressed in his clothes', مَلَأَ الدَّلْوُ مَاءً 'The bucket was filled with water', intransitive of مَلَأَ الدَّلْوُ مَاءً 'He filled the bucket with water'.

§375. The accusative may refer to a perceived or intended object, even if it is not governed by a verb: أَلْهَلَالُ وَاللَّهِ '(Look) the new moon, by God!', أَتَوَانِيَا وَقَدْ نَعَمًا وَطَاعَةً 'Hearing and obeying', i.e., 'I am ready to obey', عَلَاكَ الْمَشِيبُ 'Is there hesitancy now that gray hairs cover you?'; often as

an exclamation or warning: اَلْحَدِيْثُ 'Please, the story!', اَلْأَسَدُ اَلْأَسَدُ 'Watch out, the lion!', رَجُلَكَ 'Careful, your foot', مَكَانَكَ 'Stay where you are!' (cf. §379.1). Cf. also §§272.2; 316.

Note 1. Verbal substantives used in exclamations have the sense of imperatives: فَاِذَا لَقِيتُمْ اَلَّذِيْنَ كَفَرُوْا فَضْرِبُوْا اَلرَّعَابَ 'When you meet the unbelievers, then smite them on their necks' (Koran 47:4), اَلْأَسْرَ اَلْأَسْرَ 'Take prisoners!'. On the accusative used with the vocative, see §§157 f.

Inner (Absolute) Object

§376. Any verb, even intransitive and passive, may occur in conjunction with the accusative of the inner object, with the effect of confirming or strengthening the action. As a rule, the inner object is the verbal substantive of the main verb: ضَرَبَ ضَرْبًا 'He hit him hitting, i.e., really', 'He was struck with a blow, i.e., was really hit'. Even verbal substantives of another verb stem of the same root, a *nomen vicis* (§232), or a *nomen speciei* (§77), may be an inner object: اِقْتَتَلُوْا قِتَالًا شَدِيْدًا 'They fought each other in a violent fighting', رَمَى رَمِيْنَيْنِ 'He shot two shots, i.e., twice', قَتَلُوْهُمْ كُلَّ قِتْلَةٍ 'They killed them with every way of killing, i.e., in every conceivable way'.

Note 1. Sometimes a verbal substantive with a related meaning occurs as the inner object: شَدَّوْهُ رِبَاطًا 'They bound him really tight.'

Note 2. The inner object may be represented by the personal suffix: فَرَحَتَانِ يَفْرَحُهُمَا 'Two joys that he feels'.

§377. Most of the time, the inner object appears with an attribute or genitive that further specifies the action and is used to qualify the verb: اِظْلَعْتُ عَلَيْهِ اَطْلَاعًا لَمْ اُشَكَّ فِيْهِ 'He educated him really well', اَدَّبَهُ تَأْدِيْبًا حَسَنًا 'I found out enough about him that I had no more doubts'; — it appears with the genitive often to offer comparison: خَافَ خَوْفَ اَلْحَيَّانِ 'He was frightened like a coward', سَقْنَاهُمْ سَوْقَ اَلْبِكَارِ 'We drove them like camels', اَحْكُمُ عَلٰى ذٰلِكَ حُكْمَكَ عَلَيْهِ 'I judge it as you do'.

Note 1. Sometimes the adjective appears alone and thus assumes the role of an adverb: كَانَ يَأْتِي كَثِيرًا 'He came often (much)'. The verbal substantive is usually lacking when numbers are cited: شَتَمْتَهُ أَلْفًا 'You have insulted him a thousand times', ضَرَبَهُ سِتِّينَ 'He struck him 60 (blows)'.

Adverbial Accusative

§378. Verbal substantives that are not related in meaning to their respective verbal predicates are used as inner objects to describe circumstances, i.e., the kind and manner or the cause of the action: ذَهَبُوا جَمْرًا 'They ran away taking great leaps', أَخَذَهُ غَضَبًا 'He seized him by force', يَسْكُتُ جَهْلًا 'He remained silent out of ignorance', قُمْتُ إِكْرَامًا لَهُ 'I stood up in honor of him'.

Note 1. Adverbs like عَلَانِيَةً 'openly', عَمْدًا 'deliberately', among others, have developed into independent expressions from this usage.

§379. The accusative is used to indicate extent and direction, as well as duration and points in time: سَارَ فَرْسَخَيْنِ 'He traveled two parsangs', رَفَعْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ دَرَجَاتٍ 'We raised some of them above the others by several steps' (Koran 43:32), تَبَدَّدُوا شَرْقًا وَغَرْبًا 'They scattered east and west', كَانَ ذَلِكَ مَرْجَعَهُ مِنَ الْكُوفَةِ 'This happened on his return from Kufa' (§382.2), أَقَامَ بِمَكَّةَ عَامَ الْفَتْحِ نِصْفَ شَهْرٍ 'During the year of the conquest, he spent a half month in Mecca'; cf. §315 b.

Note 1. This kind of accusative sometimes occurs with terms indicating places: اجْلِسُوا مَكَانَكُمْ 'Remain sitting in your place!'.

Note 2. The personal suffixes may substitute for this accusative: لَيَالٍ مَرَضْتُهَا 'Nights during which I was ill'.

Circumstantial Accusative

§380. The circumstantial accusative functions as a predicate to a verb and indicates a simultaneous condition (حَالٌ). As such, these predicatives are treated as nominal predicates (§§361 f.): They can be nouns or adjectives, are usually indefinite, and agree grammatically with the subject (§§113 f.): جَاءَ رَاكِبًا 'He came riding', قَامَتِ أَبْنَتُهُ إِلَيْهِ بَاكِئَةً 'His sister, crying, went up to him', خَرَجْنَا مُتَوَجِّهِينَ إِلَى الْيَمَنِ 'We departed in the direction of Yemen', تَأْتُونَ أَفْوَاجًا 'The moon rose full', طَلَعَ الْقَمَرُ بَدْرًا 'You come

in droves'. Adjectival predicate elements follow one another asyndetically (§361): أَخْرَجَ مِنْهَا مَذْهُومًا مَذْحُورًا 'Go forth from it (from Paradise), despised and banished!' (Koran 7:18).

Note 1. As a circumstantial accusative, the participle may be imperfective or perfective (§202 c): خَرَجَ هَارِبًا 'He went out, with the intent of fleeing', جَاءَ هَارِبًا 'He came in flight'.

Note 2. The predicative may precede an indefinite subject: إِذَا جَاءَهُ مُرْتَبِعًا سَائِلٌ 'If a beggar, with a wish, comes to him ...'.

Note 3. The predicative adjective may have its own subject with which it agrees: أُمْسَتْ الْأَفَاقُ غُبْرًا جُنُوبَهَا 'In the evening the horizon appeared dust-colored at its edges' (§435).

§381. When used with verbs conveying the ideas of "inducing ..., considering as ..., finding as ...", and the like, the circumstantial accusative refers to the object and agrees with it as need be: أَرَانِي أَنبَرَ مِنْكَ 'I see myself as larger than you' (i.e., 'that I am larger than you'), جَعَلَ لَكُمْ قَرَارًا 'It is God who made for you the earth as a resting place' (Koran 40:64), غَادَرَ أَفْرَانَهُ أَمْوَاتًا 'He left his opponents for dead', وَجَدْتُ النِّسَاءَ مَغْشِيًا 'I found the women unconscious' (§204). If a causative governs two accusatives (§374), the circumstantial accusative refers to the second object: يُرِيكُمْ أَعْمَالَكُمْ خَبِيثَةً 'He showed them that their deeds were evil'.

Note 1. If the circumstantial accusative refers to subject and object, it appears in the dual as the occasion arises: مَتَى مَا تَلْقَانِي فَرْدَيْنِ 'whenever you meet me so that we are both alone'.

Note 2. According to §363 b, a personal pronoun may come before a definite predicate: جَعَلْنَا ذُرِّيَّتَهُ هُمُ الْبَاقِينَ 'We caused his descendants to be the unending ones', إِذَا كَانَ الْوَاجِبُ هُوَ الْعَنْفَ 'If violence is the obligation' (§382).

§382. a) Nominal predicates coming after كَانَ (يَكُونُ) 'be' (§360) may be considered to be in the circumstantial accusative: كَانَ أَخًا لِي 'He was a brother of mine', أَلْشَيْءُ الْوَاجِدُ لَا يَكُونُ مَوْجُودًا مَعْدُومًا 'A single thing cannot (at the same time) exist and be non-existent'. Any other predicate in a nominal sentence (§361) may also occur with kāna, e.g., كَانَ لِي أَخٌ 'A

brother was mine', i.e., 'I have a brother', يَكُونُ رَجَعْتُهُ غَدًا 'His return will be tomorrow'. See §381.2 on the definite predicate.

Note 1. Although the personal suffixes do not occur in place of the circumstantial accusative, *kāna* may appear with predicate personal suffixes: إِذَاكَ أَنْ تَكُونَهُ 'Watch out that you are not it!'

Note 2. Without a predicate, *kāna* has the meaning 'exist, occur': كَانَ تَاجِرٌ 'He was once a merchant'. See §§190 ff., on *kāna* in complex verbal constructions.

b) In the same manner, accusative predicates may occur with such semantically related verbs as صَارَ (يَصِيرُ) 'become', لَا يَزَالُ 'not cease', i.e., 'continue being, still . . .', among others: صَارَتِ الْأَرْضُ خَصْبِيَّةً 'The earth became fertile', لَمْ يَزَلْ قَوِيًّا 'He was still strong'. In place of the circumstantial accusative, there may be a circumstantial clause (§432): لَا يَزَالُ دَائِرًا or لَا يَزَالُ يَدُورُ 'He is still turning', صَارَ لَا يَتَكَلَّمُ 'He became so that he did not speak', i.e., 'He became speechless'.

§383. a) A substantive or personal pronoun (personal suffixes) may be followed by an appositional circumstantial accusative which indicates the immediate condition of the substantive or the pronoun: مَا لِحَسَمِكَ شَاحِبًا 'What's with your body, being (so) emaciated', i.e., 'Why is your body so emaciated?', هُوَ جِسُّ الْخُمُرِ وَارِدَةً 'It is the sound of the wild asses going to drink', إِتَهَوْا إِلَيْهِ جَالِسًا قُدَّامَ بَيْتِهِ 'They reached him just as he was sitting before his house'.

b) Substantives in the appositional accusative most often have an explicative sense: دَعَوْتُ اللَّهَ سَمِيْعًا 'I called to God to hear (my prayers)', هَذَا عِنَبًا أَطْيَبُ مِنْهُ زَيْبِنًا 'This is more tasty as fresh grapes than it is as raisins'. The appositional accusative of pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons is, as a rule, definite: أَنْتُمْ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ 'You, as believers', نَحْنُ مَعَاشِرَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ 'We, the multitude of prophets'.

Note 1. The explicative accusative is for the most part replaceable with *min* (§299.4): يَا لَهُ مِنْ رَجُلًا or يَا لَهُ رَجُلًا 'Oh, what a man!' (§347.1).

Note 2. The explication may consist of a distributive pair (§402): سَمَّاهُمْ تَزِيدُ عِشْقًا 'He named them man for man', كَذَلِكَ الْدَّهْرُ حَالًا بَعْدَ حَالٍ 'So is time one state after another'.

Note 3. In pre-classical Arabic, substantives occur on occasion in the definite appositional accusative: اِمْرَأَتُهُ حَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ 'his wife, the carrier of the firewood' (Koran 111:4), بِنَعْلَيْهِ الْعُتُقُ 'with his sandals, the old ones'.

Accusative of Specificity

§384. The indefinite accusative is used to specify (§141 c). It occurs with verbs: تَزِيدُ عِشْقًا 'You increase in love', i.e., 'You love more', لَنْ تَبْلُغَ الْجِبَالَ طَوْلًا 'You will not reach the mountains in tallness'; with adjectives in the predicate and, especially, with the elative (§124.3): أَخَذُنَا سَيِّئًا 'the youngest among us in age', هُوَ أَكْثَرُ قَوْمِهِ مَالًا 'He is the most of his people in possessions', i.e., 'He is the most wealthy of his people'. This accusative is also used to indicate content and material: جُبَّكَ خَرًّا 'your *jubbah* of silk', مِثْقَالُ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا 'an atom's weight of good' (Koran 99:7); cf. §§261 b; 262; 287.

Nominal Constructions

Genitive Constructions

§385. a) A substantive that is dependent on a noun is in the genitive. The noun on which the genitive depends is in the construct state (§§145 f.). Additional genitives may be dependent on a genitive: أَشْأَاءُ خَيْلِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ 'The names of the horses of the Messenger of God'.

Note 1. Personal pronouns in genitive position appear as personal suffixes (§269). All prepositions govern the genitive (§§291 ff.). See §§129; 132 on the use of the genitive after numerals.

Note 2. Relative clauses as well as subordinate clauses introduced by *an*, *anna*, or *mā* (§§414 ff.) may appear in the position of a genitive. Only with substantives referring to time (§420) may clauses follow the construct state without a subordinating particle.

b) The genitive construction, which consists of the construct state (*regens*, i.e., governing) and the *rectum* (i.e., governed) in the genitive,

normally indicates the connection of the *regens* to the *rectum*: رَأْسُ زَيْدٍ 'the head of Zayd'. The genitive construction, however, also involves the relationship of the *rectum* to the *regens*: أَرْضٌ جَذِبٌ 'Earth with barrenness', i.e., 'infertile earth' (§§391 ff.).

c) In genitive constructions which represent lexical unities, e.g., personal names like عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ ('slave of the Merciful'), شَمْسُ الدِّينِ ('sun of the religion'), أَبُو بَكْرٍ ('father of Bakr') or the constructions mentioned in §391, the construct state retains its grammatical independence: يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ 'Oh, Abu Bakr'. If such constructions occur in the plural, as a rule both members become plurals: أَمِيرُ الْجُنُودِ from أَمْرَاءُ الْجُنُودِ 'commander of the army', أَخُو ثِقَاتٍ from إِخْوَانُ ثِقَاتٍ 'trustworthy' (§391).

Note 3. If the *regens* indicates only a formal connection, gender agreement is sometimes determined by the genitive (§353). Like other names of clans, even those formed with بَنُو 'sons of ...' are regularly feminine (§86b).

Note 4. In post-classical Arabic, compound names are treated as units, so that forms like عَبْدُ اللَّهِ (§96), عَبْدُ اللَّهِ (§116) from عَبْدُ اللَّهِ 'Abd Allāh ('slave of God') make their way into classical texts.

§386. a) The genitive is used to express various kinds of relationships: possession or being part of, belonging to a space, a time, and so forth, e.g., قَلَمُ الْكُتَّابِ 'the pen of the scribes', سُوقُ عُكَّازٍ 'the market of Ukāz', طَرِيقُ الشَّامِ 'the way to Syria', مَطَرُ الشَّتَاءِ 'the rain in winter'. If the meanings of both members together imply no particular relationship, the genitive construction indicates a simple belonging together: ثَلَاثُ لَيَالٍ وَأَيَّامَهَا 'three nights and their (proper) days'.

Note 1. Proper names also may be in the genitive: نَابِغَةُ دُبْيَانَ 'Nābigah of (the clan of) Dhubyān', طَرَابُلُسُ الشَّامِ 'Tripoli of Syria'.

Note 2. Expressions of time often receive a genitive personal suffix that refers to the appropriate person: مَضَى لَيْلَتَهُ 'He spent his night (i.e., the night as it concerned him at the time)', رَجَعَ مِنْ وَقْتِهِ 'He returned at his time, i.e., at once'. Demonstratives in the genitive refer, however, to a situation or event: يَوْمَ ذَلِكَ 'on the day of that', i.e., 'on the day when that occurred'.

b) The genitive may appear in a subject or object relationship with a verbal substantive (*genitivus subjectivus, gen. objectivus*): حُبُّ لَيْلَى 'the love of Laylā', i.e., 'Laylā's loving' or 'loving Laylā', حَدِيثُ عُمَرَ 'the report 'Umar gave' or 'the report about 'Umar'; see also §206.

Note 3. The object genitive may appear with active participles: مُؤَلِّفُ الْكِتَابِ 'the author of the book'; see also §146 c. The subject genitive may appear with passive verbal adjectives: قَتِيلُ الْجُوعِ 'killed by starvation'.

§387. a) When dependent on an elative (§124), كُلُّ (§136), أَيُّ (§286), كَمَ (§287), مِنْ (§299.4), and a few others, the indefinite genitive indicates the overall class to which the preceding word belongs: كُلُّ رَجُلٍ 'every man', أَفْضَلُ رَجُلٍ 'the most excellent man', أَيُّ رِجَالٍ 'what men'. This kind of genitive (which may be termed the generic genitive) may also be used with adjectives functioning as substantives: كَبِيرُ شَيْءٍ 'important of matter', i.e., 'something important', نَجِيعٌ دَمٌ 'curdled with blood'.

b) The definite genitive in such constructions indicates a totality, and so the *regens* functions in a partitive relationship with the *rectum*: أَفْضَلُ الرِّجَالِ 'the most excellent of the men', أَحْسَنُ صُنْعِهِ 'the best of his work', i.e., 'his best work', كُلُّ الْقَوْلِ 'the entire speech', أَيُّ الْعَمَلِ 'which part of the (whole) action'. Adjectives functioning as substantives also work in a similar way: كَرِيمٌ خُلُقِهِ 'the noble side of his character', فِي قَدِيمِ الزَّمَانِ 'in olden times'.

Note 1. Partitive genitive constructions often have a superlative sense: قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ 'judge of judges', i.e., 'chief judge', دَقِيقُ الْإِشَارَاتِ 'the subtleness of the signs', i.e., 'the especially subtle signs'.

Note 2. النَّاسُ 'the people', as a partitive genitive, is sometimes treated as an indefinite like a generic genitive: كَانَ أَوَّلُ النَّاسِ ضَرْبَهُ 'He was the first (of the people) to hit him'.

§388. a) Adjectives may govern the genitive of specificity. This genitive is always definite in the generic sense (§144), but it does not make the adjective definite ("improper annexation" §146 c): حَسَنُ الْوَجْهِ 'pretty with respect to the face, pretty-faced', اِمْرَأَةٌ سَوْدَاءُ الشَّعْرِ 'a black-haired woman', الْمَرْأَةُ السَّوْدَاءُ الشَّعْرِ 'the black-haired woman'. This genitive may be replaced

with the personal suffixes: كَانَ يَزِيدُ حَسَنَ اللَّحْيَةِ خَفِيفَهَا 'Yazid was handsome of beard but thin of it', i.e., 'had a handsome but thin beard' (§§145 c; 380).

Note 1. This genitive also occurs in pre-classical Arabic in *nisbah*-adjectives referring to clan-names: اَلْتَّيْمِيُّ تَيْمٍ عَدِّيّ 'belonging to the clan of Taym, namely Taym (ibn) 'Adi'.

b) Terms of comparison like مِثْلٌ (§297 d), نَظِيرٌ, شَبَهٌ 'resembling', عَدْلٌ, عِزْلٌ 'equivalent', سِوَى, غَيْرٌ 'other than' (§325) may also appear, usually defined in the generic sense, with the genitive. The *regens*, however, is considered indefinite (§146 b): صَنَمٌ قَدْرُ الرَّجُلِ اَلْمُتَعَدِّلِ اَلْخُلُقَةِ 'an idol the size of a man of medium stature', شَيْءٌ اَلْفِعْلِ 'something verb-like'.

§389. The introductory genitive presents a new subject. It is always indefinite and as a rule singular. It appears with *rubba* 'many a' (§337) and, in poetry, with *wa-* (§328). The introductory genitive is usually the subject of a copulative sentence: يَا رَبِّ مَكْرُوبٍ كَرَزْتُ وَرَاءَهُ 'Oh, behind many an overburdened one have I ridden'. While the genitive after *rubba* refers to a plurality of subjects, after *wa-*, the plural is not necessarily implied: وَكَأْسٍ شَرِبْتُ 'Many a cup have I quaffed' (§370 b), وَدَارٌ تُؤَدِّبُ فِيهَا اَلْبُرَّاءَ, (I will speak about) a house in which the falcons were trained', وَذِي رِجْلَيْنِ لَا يَمْشِي 'I know of one with two legs who does not walk on them' (§391 a).

Note 1. The plural may follow *wa-*: وَأَيَّامٍ عَصَيْنَا اَلْمَلِكَ فِيهَا '(I remember) the days when we defied the king'.

Note 2. On rare occasion, this genitive may follow *fa-* (§329), *bal* (§326), or there may be no particle at all: بَلْ بَلَدٍ مِلْءُ اَلْفِجَاجِ قَتْمُهُ 'But (now I think of) a place where the paths are filled with dust'.

§390. a) The qualifying genitive indicates something by which the *regens* is characterized: أَقْوَالُ اَلصَّلَالِ 'an oath of sincerity', 'a sincere oath', 'the words of error', 'false statements'; also with proper names: عُلُقَمَةُ اَلنَّدَى 'Alqamah of generosity', i.e., 'the generous 'Alqamah', عُوَيْفُ اَلْقَوَافِي 'Uwayf with the rhymes'.

b) It is also used to indicate dimension, content, or material: سَنَةٌ خَمِيسَ 'in the year 75' (§379), كَأْسٌ مَاءٍ 'a cup of water', مَلِكٌ شَهْرٍ 'king of a month (for a month)', بُيُوتُ الرُّحَامِ 'houses made of marble'.

Note 1. In addition, materials may be indicated by apposition (§394 a), the indefinite accusative (§384), or *min* (§299 a).

Note 2. In fixed expressions, adjectival qualification in the genitive is also used on occasion: رَبِيعُ الْأَوَّلِ 'Rabī' I', رَبِيعُ الثَّانِي 'Rabī' II' (names of months), عَامُ الْأَوَّلِ 'the previous year', عَامُ الْقَابِلِ 'the next year', مَسْجِدُ الْخَامِعِ 'the main mosque'.

§391. a) The nominal demonstrative ذُو (§283) followed by substantives or adjectives in the genitive is used to form qualifying expressions: ذُو الْقَرْنَيْنِ 'the one with the two horns' (proper name), ذُو الْعِلْمِ 'the one with knowledge, the knowing', اِمْرُؤُ ذُو مَالٍ 'a wealthy man' (§398.1).

Note 1. Only the dual and plural of *dhū* are combined with personal suffixes: ذَوُوكَ 'your relatives/family'.

b) Terms referring to relationship are often used as substantives indicating a connection or affinity, as are also صَاحِبٌ 'companion', أَهْلٌ 'people', and words of like meaning, e.g.: أَبُو الضَّيْفِ 'the father of the guest, the host', ابْنُ حَرْبٍ 'son of war, warrior', ابْنُ الْخَمْسِينَ 'the son of fifty, the fifty-year-old', أَخُو ثِقَةٍ 'a trustworthy person', صَاحِبُ شَرَابٍ 'a drinker', أَهْلُ الْمُسَنَةِ 'the followers of the Sunnah'.

Note 2. Such constructions are sometimes used for the names of things or animals: بَنَاتُ الْذَهْرِ 'daughters of time, blows of fate', أَبُو الْخَصَنِينِ 'father of the small fortress', i.e., 'fox'.

§392. Proper names follow in the genitive (*genitivus epeexegeticus*) the appropriate terms that identify them: شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ 'the month (called by the name of) Ramadan', سُورَةُ فَاتِحَةِ الْكِتَابِ 'the Surah (called) the Opening of the Book', مَدِينَةُ بَغْدَادَ 'the city of Baghdad', يَوْمُ الْأَحَدِ 'the day one', i.e., 'Sunday'.

Note 1. Personal names are not in the genitive but follow in apposition (§394 b) to the term referring to the person.

Note 2. In analogy to proper names, terms indicating specific things are sometimes expressed in the genitive after a term referring to something generic: *آفَةُ الْمَخْلِ* 'the plague of famine'; in the same way with grammatical terms: *كَلِمَةُ كَانٍ* 'the word *kāna*'.

Apposition

§393. All nominal forms that appear as predicates in nominal sentences (§361), and including prepositions (§293 b), may clarify, emphasize, or qualify in apposition. Apposition follows the substantive, which functions as a *regens*, and agrees with it in case: *كَابُولُ مَدِينَةٍ مَعْرُوفَةٍ فِي بِلَادِ الْتُرْكِ* 'Kabul, a famous city in the land of the Turks', *إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ صِرَاطُ اللَّهِ* 'to a straight path, the path of God'.

Note 1. When the *regens* is dependent on a preposition, that preposition may be repeated in the apposition: *إِنَّا مِنْ هَذَا الْخَنِي مِنْ رَبِيعَةَ* 'We belong to this clan, Rabī'ah'. Personal suffixes may at times carry over into the term in apposition: *مَعَ أَخِيهِ صَغِيرِهِ* with his brother, the younger one'.

Note 2. A substantive in apposition may also appear after the personal pronouns of the 3rd person and demonstratives (§277). After the 1st and 2nd persons, the term in apposition is in the accusative (§383 b).

Note 3. After the personal suffixes, the apposition may appear in the accusative (§383) or with the preposition *min* (§299 a): *ضَرَبَهُ الْوَجْهَ* 'He struck him, namely his face', 'He struck him in the face'.

§394. a) A substantive in apposition may be used, like the genitive (§390 b), to indicate material or content and to denote dimension, weight, or price: *أَلْخَاتِمُ الْحَدِيدِ* 'the sealing ring (of) iron', *جُبَّةٌ لِي صُوفٌ* 'a jacket of mine (made of) wool', *صُرَّةٌ مِائَةُ دِينَارٍ* 'a purse (containing) 100 dinars', *جَزِيرَةٌ خَمْسَةُ فَرَاسِخٍ* 'an island (measured) five by five parsangs', *مُصَنَّفَاتٌ عِدَّةٌ فِي خَمْسَةِ* 'systematic works (in) large quantity'.

Note 1. Prepositional apposition may occur instead: *لَحِيَّةٌ ذِرَاعٌ* 'a beard (of) a cubit' or *لَحِيَّةٌ بِطُولِ ذِرَاعٍ* 'a beard the length of a cubit'; cf. also §299 a.

b) Personal names follow what they qualify in apposition; however, the qualified may also follow in apposition: *أَخُوكَ زَيْدٌ* 'your brother Zayd'

or مَوْسَى النَّبِيِّ 'the Inam Mālik', 'Zayd, your brother', زَيْدُ أَخَوِكَ 'the prophet Moses'.

§395. a) Permutative apposition makes it possible to put the second member of a genitive construction first. The prominent member is represented in the appositional term by a personal suffix: أَعْجَبَنِي عَمْرُو حُسْنُهُ 'Amr, his handsomeness astonished me' = حُسْنُ عَمْرُو 'the handsomeness of 'Amr', أَكْثَرُ قَوْمِكَ 'most of your people' = قَوْمُكَ أَكْثَرُهُمْ 'your people, most of them'.

Note 1. This apposition may in special cases occur with the preposition *bi-*: الْأَمِيرُ بِنَفْسِهِ 'the prince himself', جَارِيَتِي بِعَيْنِهَا 'my slave-girl herself', رَجُلٌ بِعَيْنِهِ 'a certain man'.

b) Permutative apposition is the preferred construction in expressions that indicate totality and identity: الْبَنَاتُ كُلُّهُنَّ 'all women' (§136), ابْنَاهُ كِلَاهُمَا 'both his sons' (§109), قَامَ هُوَ نَفْسُهُ (عَيْنُهُ) 'He himself stood up'.

§396. Appositional repetition is used for emphasis: إِذَا الْخَبْلُ خَبِلَ الْوَصْلُ يَلْمُ 'if the cord, the cord of union, is not torn', إِذَا دَكَّتِ الْأَرْضُ دَكًّا دَكًّا 'When the earth is totally demolished' (Koran 89:21).

Note 1. Repetition also has a strengthening effect with other kinds of words: أَفَيْقُوا أَفَيْقُوا 'Wake up, wake up!', رَجُلٌ أَمِينٌ حَقٌّ أَمِينٌ 'a reliable, truly reliable man'. See §402 on other uses of repetition.

§397. Abstracts denoting attributes also appear in apposition in an adjectival function. Here, the apposition agrees not only in case, but also in definiteness, with its *regens*: مَوْضِعٌ قُرْبٌ 'a close-by place', الرَّأْيُ الْخَطَأُ 'the mistaken opinion', قِسْمَةٌ تَشْعِيبٌ 'a subdivided distribution', خُلُقٌ عَادَةٌ 'a character trait acquired by habit', الْمَوَازِينُ الْقَنِصَةُ 'the correct (just) scales'.

Note 1. Terms of comparison (§388 b) usually come after an indefinite *regens*: شَخْصٌ كَالْجَبَلِ 'a shape like a mountain'.

Attributives

§398. Attributive adjectives agree with governing substantives in case and definiteness, as well as in gender (number) according to the rules given in §§113 f.: رَجُلٌ صَادِقٌ 'an honest man', الْحَارِثَةُ الصَّادِقَةُ 'the honest slave-girl',

ثِيَابَكَ أَلْبِيضُ 'your white garments' (§119.2). The attribute of the *regens* in a genitive construction follows after the genitive; §§145 b; 146 a.

Note 1. Negative *ghayru* (§325) agrees in case with the governing substantive, with the adjective following in the genitive in gender and in definiteness: اَلرَّجُلُ غَيْرُ الصَّادِقِ 'the dishonest man'. The genitive of specification (§388 a) has no effect on whether the adjective is definite or indefinite; see §146c. Whether adjectival *dhū* is definite or indefinite is determined by the genitive (§391 a): رَجُلٌ ذُو حِلْمٍ 'a man of reason', اَلرَّجُلُ ذُو اَلْحِلْمِ 'the man of reason'.

Note 2. Attributes are asyndetically coordinated (§400). Prepositional phrases and attributive clauses (§§428 ff.) may precede an attributive adjective: بَلَاءٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ عَظِيمٌ 'a grievous trial from your Lord' (Koran 2:49; 7:141; 14:6), خَبَرٌ ذَكَرَهُ طَوِيلٌ 'a long report which he gave'.

§399. Attributive adjectives that appear with numerals are, irrespective of the number of the object counted, very often construed *ad sensum* in the plural: مَائَةٌ مِنَ الْإِبِلِ عِشَارٌ 'one hundred she-camels pregnant in the tenth month', اَرْبَعُونَ رَجُلًا مُرَاقِبِينَ 'forty observant men', سِتُونَ بُرْجًا كِبَارًا 'sixty large towers'; cf. §354.

Coordination of Parts of the Sentence

§400. a) Appositional and attributive expressions are as a rule asyndetically coordinated: عَدُوٌّ مُضِلٌّ مُبِينٌ 'an enemy misleading, manifest' (Koran 28:15), اَللّٰهُ اَلْعَلِيُّ اَلْكَبِيرُ 'the exalted and great God'. Dissimilar qualifications are identified as belonging together by means of *wa*- 'and': اَهْلُ اَلْعِرَاقِ خَوَاصُّهَا وَعَوَامُّهَا 'the people of Iraq, the eminent and the ordinary of them'.

Note 1. Parts that are asyndetically coordinated may appear next to each other in an adversative relationship: مَدِينَةٌ جَبَلِيَّةٌ بَرِّيَّةٌ 'a city, part mountainous, part flat', رَجُلٌ دَمِيمٌ حَسَنُ اَللَّمَةِ 'a homely, but in hair growth handsome, man'.

b) Several adjectival predicates may be asyndetically coordinated; see §§361; 380. Other nominal predicates are usually coordinated with conjunctions, for the most part with *wa*- (§§328 ff.): هُوَ اَشْعَرُ مِنْكَ وَاَشْرَفُ 'He is a greater poet and more honorable than you'.

§401. More than one substantive referring to different things and identified as parallel parts of the sentence are always coordinated by conjunctions, usually *wa*- (§§328 ff.): ذَلِكْ عَارٌ وَسُبَّةٌ عَلَيْنَا 'This is a shame and disgrace for us', مَرُّ الْأَيَّامِ وَاللَّيَالِي 'the passing of the days and the nights'.

Note 1. *wa*- coordinates approximate numbers in a range: طَوْلُهُ مِائَةٌ بَاعٍ وَمِائَتَانِ 'Its length is 100 to 200 fathoms'.

§402. To illustrate distributive enumeration, two asyndetically coordinated substantives may be cited, e.g.: فَأَعْطَى إِخْوَتَهُ نَاقَةً وَشَاتَيْنِ شَاتَيْنِ 'And so he gave his brothers each a camel and two sheep', جَعَلَ يَسْأَلُنِي عَنْ وَادٍ وَادٍ 'He began to ask me about each individual valley'; cf. §383.2.

Note 1. In distributive pairs, coordination with *fa*- has the sense of a sequence: غَامًا فَعَامًا 'year by year, every year' (§329); with *wa*-, a sum: شَرٌّ وَشَرٌّ 'one evil after (added to, on top of) another', مِئُونَ وَمِئُونَ 'hundreds and hundreds more'.

§403. If a complement belongs to all of the coordinated parts of a sentence, the complement is usually mentioned only once. If the complement goes with the first part, the coordinated parts follow without the complement: كَانَ ذَا شَرَفٍ فِي الْقَوْمِ وَفَضْلٍ 'He was a man of distinction and standing among the people', كُلُّ خَيْرٍ رَأَيْتُهُ وَشَرٌّ 'all the good and bad that I have seen', كَمْ نَاقِرٍ مِنَّا عَلَيْكُمْ وَنَاقِمَةٍ 'Indeed, there are so many (masc. and fem.) among us who take revenge on you'; — with verbs: نَمُوتُ مَعَكَ وَنَحْيَا 'We shall die and live with you'.

Note 1. In the coordination of the construct state, the genitive must be repeated as personal suffix; see §145 c.

Syntax: Clauses

Coordinate Clauses

§404. a) Independent clauses or subordinate clauses of equal status are coordinated by coordinating conjunctions (§§328 ff.), for the most part by *wa*- or *fa*-: قَدْ وَاللَّهِ رَأَيْتَنِي أَمُرُّ هَذَا الْغُلَامَ وَلَا أَمْنُهُ 'The behavior of this boy has, by God, filled me with suspicion, and I do not trust him' (§189.1). A change in subject is often indicated by *fa*-: أَتَى عُمرُ أَعْرَابِيًّا فَقَالَ لَهُ 'Umar came to a Bedouin, and he (the Bedouin) said to him ...'.

b) The coordinate clause is not always parallel to the preceding clause but can be adversative: *وَاللّٰهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ* 'And God knows it, but you do not' (Koran 2:216, 232; 3:66, etc.). Clauses that justify are often coordinated with *fa-* or *fa-inna* (§339), especially following exclamations and the like: *هَلُمَّ أَزْكَبْ مَعَكَ إِلَىٰ يُوسُفَ فَإِنَّهُ صَدِيقِي* 'Come on, I will ride to Joseph with you, for he is my friend' (§412).

Note 1. Coordination of a pair of clauses is sometimes expressed by placing parallel parts directly before and after *wa-*: *تُلْجِمُ أَمْرًا وَأُمُورًا تُشَدِّدِي* 'With one thing you make the weft, and with others you make the warp'.

§405. a) Asyndetic coordination of clauses occurs only in lively conversation, e.g., introducing direct discourse and a reply: *قَالَ ... قُلْتُ ...* 'He said ..., I replied ...'.

b) An asyndetically coordinated clause may follow another in apposition as an explanatory postscript: *قَتَلُوا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ ذَبْحَوْهُ ذَبْحًا* 'They killed Abdallah, indeed, they really slaughtered him'. The agent of the action may be appended after a passive verb in this way: *أَبْرَأَبْنُ عَمَّكَ أُتْرِنَهُ* 'Your cousin was taken prisoner, that is, by the Banū Fazārah'.

Note 1. An explanatory afterthought may also be introduced by *wa-* or *fa-*: *قَالُوا وَاللّٰهِ مَا عَرَفْنَاهُ وَصَدَقُوا* 'They said, By God, we did not recognize him, and they were speaking the truth'.

Note 2. Sometimes, verbs are coordinated asyndetically and form a semantic unit: *أَرْسِلْ أَعْلِمْنِي* 'Send, inform me!'; also in the standard phrase introducing a tradition: *حَدَّثَنِي فُلَانُ بْنُ فُلَانٍ قَالَ* 'So-and-so reported to me, he said'.

§406. In coordinate clauses which have one or more components in common, the shared one is usually mentioned only once: *أَدُو نَسَبٍ أَمْ أَنْتَ بِأَلْحَىٰ* 'Are you related or are you merely familiar with the clan?' (§333), *نَحْنُ بِمَا عِنْدَنَا وَأَنْتَ بِمَا عِنْدَكَ رَاضٍ* 'We are content with what we have, and you are with what you have', *لَا سُوْقَةٌ يَبْقَىٰ وَلَا مَلِكٌ* 'No subject and no king will be left alive' (§318 b).

Coordinate Circumstantial Clauses

§407. A circumstantial clause relates a condition or action simultaneous with an event. The verb assumes its aspect capacity in the circumstantial clause, while tense is determined by the preceding independent clause: مَاتَتْ آمِنَةُ وَهِيَ رَاجِعَةٌ إِلَى مَكَّةَ 'Aminah died while she was returning to Mecca', قَدْ أَغْتَدِي وَالطَّيْرُ فِي وَكُنَائِهَا 'Sometimes I go out early in the morning, while the birds are still in their nests'.

Note 1. The coordinate particle *wa-* also connects adversative conditions (§404 b): كَيْفَ نَزَهْنِكَ نِسَاءَنَا وَأَنْتَ أَشْبَهُ أَهْلٍ يَثْرِبُ 'How can we pledge our women to you, when you are Yathrib's most renowned celebrator of women in verse'.

Note 2. Although *wa-* coordinates the clauses, the circumstantial clause is nevertheless a dependent clause. Its dependency is formally marked by the subject-predicate word order in the verbal clause and functionally indicated by the verb in its aspect capacity. Pre-classical Arabic still has an independent circumstantial clause after *'inna*, which is always followed by a clause introduced by *'idh* or *'idhā* (§280): إِنَّا لَنَتَرَجَّلُ إِذْ أَقْبَلْتُمْ 'We were just about to set out on the journey, when you suddenly approached', إِنِّي لَفِي أَيْدِيهِمْ إِذْ طَلَعَ عَلَيْهِمْ قَوْمٌ 'I was in their hands, when a group of people came suddenly upon them'. In classical usage, the conjunction that introduces the subordinate clause is *bayna-mā*, *baynā* (§444), rather than *'inna*.

§408. If the action or condition mentioned in the circumstantial clause represents an event independent of the main clause, the circumstantial clause is coordinated with *wa-* 'and': أَقْبَلَتْ عَيْرٌ وَنَحْنُ نُصَلِّي 'A caravan approached, just as we were praying'. Conversely, a predicate circumstantial clause (§§413 ff.), which occupies the position of a circumstantial accusative and is not coordinated by a conjunction, designates that the action or condition is incorporated in the action of the main clause and specifies it: أَقْبَلُوا تُغَيِّقُ بِهِمْ خَيْلَهُمْ 'They approached while their horses galloped with them'.

Note 1. When the subjects are the same in the main and the circumstantial clauses, predicate circumstantial clauses and coordinate circumstantial clauses are often equivalent. This is because it is not clear whether both actions are mutually independent or mutually inclusive, e.g., *أَتَى عُمَرُ وَهُوَ يُعْطِي الْمَسَاكِينَ مِنَ الصَّدَقَةِ* ‘Umar came, and as he did, he gave the poor some of the alms tax at the same time’, for which *... أَتَى عُمَرُ يُعْطِي* ‘Umar came, while he gave ...’ is also possible. Still another interpretation (§431 b, ‘came in order to give’) is ruled out with coordinate circumstantial clauses.

Note 2. On occasion, coordinate circumstantial clauses may also come after *kāna* ‘be’ and verbs with related meanings (cf. §382): *كُنَّا وَمَا نُصَلِّي* ‘We were, and at the same time, we were not praying’, i.e., ‘At that time, we were not praying’.

§409. Coordinate circumstantial clauses may occur as follows:

a) with the imperfect indicating simultaneous action; the subject always comes immediately after *wa-*: *مَرَّ بِي وَأَصْحَابِي يَنْظُرُونَ إِلَيْهِ* ‘He passed by me, and my companions were looking at him at that same time’. A pronominal subject appears as an independent personal pronoun: *لَقِيتُ أَحْمَدَ وَهُوَ يَطُوفُ بِالْبَيْتِ* ‘I met Ahmad just as he was circumambulating the (holy) house’, *إِجْتَاَزَ أَخُوهَا وَهِيَ لَا تَعْرِفُهُ* ‘Her brother passed by, but she did not recognize him’.

b) with the perfect and *qad* (§189 a) indicating an action already completed; the subject always follows the verb: *فَاتَّبَعَهُ وَقَدْ شَدَّوْهُ* ‘Then he woke up, to find that they had tied him up’. In the negative, these clauses take *mā* with the perfect (§321) to indicate a negative condition, or *lam* with the jussive (§319) to indicate a condition that does not exist: *جَاءَ زَيْدٌ وَمَا رَكِبَ* ‘Zayd came, but he was not mounted’, *مَاتَ وَلَمْ يَعْقِبْ* ‘He died, without having left behind descendants’, *نَجَوْتُ وَلَمْ يَنْزِعُوا سِلَاحِي* ‘I escaped, before they could strip me of my arms (i.e., what would have been their booty)’.

Note 1. The perfect without *qad* is very rare: *أَتُؤْمِنُ لَكَ وَاتَّبَعَكَ الْآزْدَلُونَ* ‘Shall we believe you, though the vilest followed you?’ (Koran 26:111).

c) with nominal clauses; there is nothing peculiar about the word order (§366): *قُلْتُ مَتَى تَزَوَّجْتَهَا قَالَ وَأَنَا بَعْدَنْ* ‘I said, when did you marry her? He

replied, when I was in Aden', 'أَبَى أَنْ يَدْخُلَ الْبَيْتَ وَفِيهِ آلَاةٌ' 'He did not want to enter the house while there were idols in it'; cf. also the examples in §407.

Note 2. Coordinated circumstantial sentences may follow *illā* (§310 d).

Coordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive

§410. Clauses coordinated with the main clause by *fa-* 'and then' (§329) which indicate a possible result have the subjunctive, provided the head clause is not a statement of fact, but a wish, question, condition, negation, and the like; *fa-* has the meaning 'so that' and, after negatives, 'lest' in these constructions: 'أَلَا تَحِيءُ فَأُطْعِمَكَ تَمْرًا' 'Will you not come, so that I might give you dates to eat?', 'لَا تُقَدِّرْ عَظَمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى قَدْرِ عَقْلِكَ فَتَكُونَ مِنَ الْهَالِكِينَ' 'Do not judge the majesty of God according to your intellect, lest you then be among the doomed'; cf. §197.

Note 1. The subjunctive occurs occasionally after *wa-* and other particles (§196.2) under similar conditions: 'يَا لَيْتَنَا نُرَدُّ وَلَا نُكَذِّبُ بِآيَاتِ رَبَّنَا' 'O, that we would be brought back (from Hell), then we would not disbelieve the signs of our Lord' (Koran 6:27).

§411. After *aw* 'or' (§331), the subjunctive presents a possible alternative ('unless, until'): 'لَأُضْرِبَهُ أَوْ يَقُومَ' 'I will really strike him, unless he stands up', 'لَا نَسْتَطِيعُ أَوْ نَمْضِي' 'We can do nothing else other than go away'.

Asyndetic Result Clauses with the Jussive

§412. A clause expressing the result of an imperative in the main clause has the verb in the jussive and is asyndetically joined to the main clause: 'إِزْحَمْ تُرْحَمْ' 'Be compassionate, and someone will show compassion for you' (conditional implication: 'if you show compassion . . .'; see §460). The jussive, as a rule, also follows when the result clause suggests the intent of the command or request: 'مُرْهُ يَأْتِ' 'Order him, he should come!', 'دَعْنِي أَذْهَبْ' 'Let me go away!', 'إِئْذَنْ لِي أَضْرِبَ عُنُقَهُ' 'Allow me to decapitate him!'.

Note 1. Similarly, following particles of exclamation: 'إِيَّاكَ لَا أَقْدِفُكَ' 'Watch out, lest I hit you!' (§272.2)

Subordinate Clauses as Parts of the Main Clause

§413. Some subordinate clauses may appear in the same syntactic positions in which nominal forms function as parts of the clause. Substantive clauses introduced by *an*, *anna*, *mā*, clauses functioning as substantives, or relative clauses may function syntactically as substantives. Attributive and circumstantial clauses may occupy the position of adjectives. Still other subordinate clauses may appear where circumstantial adverbial phrases are otherwise found.

Substantive Clauses

§414. أَنْ 'that' introduces a verbal clause whose predicate is either in the subjunctive (§§196 f.), if the action is expected, or in the perfect, if the action has taken place: يَنْبَغِي أَنْ تَحْذَرَ مِنَ الْفَوَاحِشِ 'It is proper that you beware of abominations', قَضَى اللَّهُ أَنْ كُيِّرَتِ النَّصَارَى 'God has foreordained that the Christian (power) be broken'. Usually, *anna* (§415) occurs instead of *an* with the imperfect (§196.1): أَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ يَنَامُ = أَعْلَمُ أَنْ يَنَامَ 'I know that he is sleeping'. The future particle *sa-* with the imperfect may also occur: زَعَمَ أَنْ سَيُزُورُكَ 'He claimed that he would visit you'.

Note 1. *an* is used to introduce direct discourse, if it is not indicated by قَالَ 'say' (§419 a): أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ 'I attest, there is no god but the (one) God', أَرْسَلُوا إِلَيْهِمْ أَنْ رُدُّوا عَلَيْنَا إِبِلَنَا 'They sent them word, give us back our camels!', نَادَى مُنَادِي الْقَوْمِ أَنْ قَدْ أَتَيْتُمْ 'One of the people called, they have come to you'.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *an* occurs where in classical Arabic only *anna* may, especially before a nominal clause which does not begin with the subject: تَعْلَمُ أَنْ مَا لَنَا ذَنْبٌ 'You know that we are without guilt'; but also وَأَعْلَمُ بِأَنْ كُلَّ عَيْشٍ صَالِحٍ فَإِنْ 'And know that every fortunate life is transitory'.

§415. أَنَّ 'that' introduces a nominal or a copulative clause. The subject follows in the accusative (§338): حُكِيَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنَ الْهِنْدِ كَانَتْ لَهُ زَوْجَةٌ 'It is told that one of the kings of India had a wife', يَرَى أَنَّ بَعْدَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا 'He thinks that after adversity comes ease', ذَلِكَ أَنَّكَ أَطْلَعْتَ عَلَى أَسْرَارِنَا 'That is a result of your having found out our secrets'.

Note 1. After *anna-mā* (§416.2), the structure of the clause is free: *بَدَا لِي أَنَّمَا هُوَ فَارِسٌ* 'It was clear to me that he was a horseman'.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, *anna* may introduce an indirect question: *لَا يَذْرِي أَنَّهُ كَيْفَ آتَيْنَا* 'He does not know how he reached us' (see §338 on the use of *أَنَّهُ* with the "pronoun of the fact").

§416. Subordinating *مَا* 'the fact that' (§289) introduces a verbal clause: *لَا أَغْرِقَنَّ مَا أَخَّرْتَ* 'I will certainly not acknowledge that you delayed the matter', *يَسُرُّ الْمَرْءَ مَا ذَهَبَ اللَّيَالِي* 'It makes a person (§358) happy that the nights pass by', *عَجِبْتُ مِمَّا ضَرَبْتَهُ* 'I was amazed that you hit him'.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians called this *mā al-maṣdariyyah*, because this *mā* and following verb are always replaceable by a verbal substantive (*maṣdar*): *عَجِبْتُ مِنْ ضَرْبِكَ إِيَّاهُ*.

Note 2. Wherever particles introducing a clause are of the type that occur in constructions with a substantive, *mā* may replace that substantive and permit any kind of following clause; see §§337.3; 344.1; cf. also §§261 f. On *الَّذِي* 'that', see §426.1.

Note 3. *كَوْنٌ* 'being' is used in post-classical Arabic to embed clauses in complex sentences. The subject of the subordinate clause appears as a genitive of *كَوْنٌ*, and the predicate follows in the accusative (§382) or as a predicate circumstantial clause (§431): *مَنْعَهُ عَنِ الرَّحْلَةِ كَوْنُهُ جَبَانًا* 'The fact that he is a coward prevented him from making the journey', *جَاءَ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ لِلْهَنَاءِ* 'The people came to congratulate him, because the vizier had spoken to him'.

§417. Although substantive clauses (clauses beginning with 'that') function mostly as subjects or objects, they may also serve as predicates or in apposition: *لَيْسَ هَذَا بِرَأْيِي أَنْ ظَنِّي أَنْ تَعُودَ* 'My assumption is that you will return', *لَيْسَ هَذَا بِرَأْيِي أَنْ تَتَطَلَّقَ* 'This, namely that you go away, is not a good idea'. They may also appear in the position of adverbial accusatives (§378): *أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِقَتْلِهِ أَنَّهُ كَانَ قَدْ أَشْلَمَ* 'He hired people to work for him', *يَغْمَلُوا لَهُ* 'The Messenger of God ordered him killed, because (of the fact that) he became a Muslim and then returned to polytheism'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, after verbs expressing a negative intent, the adverbial “that”-clause has a negative sense without being explicitly negative: تَرَكَ الْأَحِبَّةَ أَنْ يُقَاتِلَ عَنْهُمْ ‘He abandoned his loved ones lest he have to fight for them’.

Note 2. Clauses with *’anna* in the object position or which are dependent on a preposition governed by a verb tend to be abbreviated. Accordingly, the subject of the *’anna* clause is added directly to the main clause, and the predicate follows as if it were a predicate circumstantial clause (§434): أَرَى أَنْ السُّيُوفَ ... = أَرَى السُّيُوفَ سَتُسَلُّ ‘I see that the swords will one day be drawn’, أَبْكِي عَلَى أَنَّ خَبَرَ السَّمَاءِ انْقَطَعَ = أَبْكِي عَلَى خَبَرِ السَّمَاءِ انْقَطَعَ ‘I am crying because the news from heaven has been cut off’.

Note 3. Clauses with *’an*, *’anna*, *mā* may function as genitives after verbal substantives : بِشَرِطِ أَنْ ‘on the condition that’; طَوَّلَ مَا ‘while’; clauses with *’an* may function as genitive or accusative: خَافَهُ أَنْ or خَافَهُ أَنْ ‘out of fear that’.

§418. a) *’an*, *’anna*, and *mā* may occur in constructions with all prepositions, e.g.: فَفَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ إِلَى أَنْ مَاتُوا ‘Then they did this until they died’, لَمْ يَشْكُ فِي أَنَّهُ أَعْمَى ‘There was no doubt that he was blind’; see §437.

Note 1. Sometimes, the preposition is lacking before *’an* and *’anna* as long as there is no ambiguity: اسْتَعْجَمَتْ أَنْ تَكَلَّمَ ‘She was too mute to have been able to speak’ (for عَنْ أَنْ §301), لَوْ نَظَرْتَ إِلَيْهَا فَإِنَّهُ أُخْرَى أَنْ يُؤَدِّمَ, (بِأَنْ) ‘If you regarded her (with the intent of marriage), that would be most appropriate that a good relationship develop between you two’ (for بِأَنْ), إِنْ أَلَّهِ لَا يَسْتَحْيِي أَنْ يَضْرِبَ مَثَلًا ‘God is not ashamed to strike a similitude’ (Koran 2:26; for مِنْ أَنْ).

b) Certain prepositional constructions with *’anna* and *mā* may assume an independent role and function as conjunctions (§344), e.g.: كَمَا مِثْلَ مَا ‘as’, هَرَبَ كَأَنَّهُ ‘as if’: أَرَى الْأُمَرَ كَمَا تَرَى ‘I regard the affair as you do’, غَلَامٌ كَانَ لِسَانَهُ لِسَانَ ثَوْرٍ ‘A boy whose tongue is as it were a bull’s tongue’; cf. also §365 b.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *ka-mā* also has the meaning 'so that' and occurs with the subjunctive: *إِسْمَعْ حَدِيثًا كَمَا يَوْمًا تُحَدِّثُهُ* 'Listen to an account so that you can report it some day!'; cf. §438.1.

Clauses Functioning as Substantives

§419. a) When elements of a sentence in the form of direct or indirect speech need to be inserted, they appear without an introductory particle in the position of a substantive: *الْمُرُوءَةُ إِذَا أُغْطِيَتْ شَكَرَتْ* 'Manliness consists of this: if you are given something, you are thankful', *تَسْمَعُ بِالْمُعَيَّدِي خَيْرَ لَكَ* 'It is better for you to hear about the Mu'aydī than to see them', *لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ مَا جِئْنَا لِنُفْسِدَ الْأَرْضَ* 'You know, we did not come to ruin the land', *بَذَا لَهُمْ ... لِيَسْجُنُوهُ* 'It seemed good to them ... they should imprison him' (Koran 12:35). Similarly, direct speech always follows *قَالَ* 'say': *قَالَ لَنَا إِنَّ النَّاسَ نِيَامٌ* 'He said to us, the people are sleeping'.

Note 1. *anna* may come after *قَالَ* only when it has the sense of 'suppose': *مَتَى تَقُولُ أَنَّهُ مُنْطَلِقٌ* 'When would you say he would go away', or when the direct speech is not the object of *قَالَ*: *أَوَّلُ مَا أَقُولُ أَنِّي أَخُذُ اللَّهَ* 'The first thing I shall say is that I praise God'; cf. §414.1.

b) Likewise, indirect interrogative clauses are added without conjunctions: *فَنَظَرَتْ هَلْ تَرَى أَحَدًا* 'Then she looked there to determine whether she saw anyone', *مُبَيَّنٌ عَلَيْنَا الْإِمْرُ أَيْنَ يَرُومُ* 'It is clear to us where the matter is headed', *سَأَلَهُ عَنِ الْأُضْحِيَّةِ أَوْاجِبَةً أَمْ لَا* 'He asked him about the sacrifice, whether or not it was obligatory' (§333).

Note 2. Notice the different possible treatments of *ayyun* (§286) as subject of the interrogative clause, depending on whether it is classified as part of the main clause or remains in the nominative as part of the interrogative clause: *لَمْ يَتَّفِقُوا عَلَى أَيُّهِمْ أَشْعَرُ* or *لَمْ يَتَّفِقُوا عَلَى أَيُّهِمْ أَشْعَرُ* 'They did not agree on which of them was the better poet'.

§420. Substantives referring to time are followed by substantivized clauses without subordinating particles in the position of a genitive: *ذَلِكَ أَوَانٌ أَبْصَرْتُ* 'That was the right time that you saw the road', *بَعْدَ غَامٍ لَقِيَهُمْ* 'after the year in which I met them'. The unrestricted use of such constructions

in all syntactic positions is possible in early stages of the language. Later, usage was restricted to the adverbial accusative: أَخْطَأَهُ سَهْمِي حِينَ رَمَيْتُ 'My arrow missed him when I shot it'; see §346.

Relative Clauses as Substantives

§421. Relative clauses functioning as substantives are introduced by مَنْ 'who' ('one who', 'people who'), مَا 'what' ('something that'), or الَّذِي 'the one who, one which' (§§289; 281). The relative pronoun appears in the sentence where a substantive would be and may function as subject or predicate, as object, and may occupy the position of a genitive: إِنَّ أَوْسًا مِّنْ قَدْ عَرَفْتَ 'Aws is one whom you know', يَقُولُونَ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ 'They say with their mouths what is not in their hearts' (Koran 3:167), إِصْنَعْ مَا بَدَا لَكَ 'Do what seems good to you!'; also in the vocative: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا 'O you who believe'.

Note 1. كُنْ ذُو يَتَأَخَّرُ (§281.2) may also be a relative pronoun: 'Be the one who falls behind'.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *man* and *mā* may stand in apposition: وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ مَنِ تَبَعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ كَثِيرٌ 'And the Muslims, the ones who follow the Messenger of God, are many'. In constructions with *min*, relative pronouns are used for appositional clarification (§299 a): ثَلَاثُونَ رَجُلًا مِّنْ: مَدَامَ مَعْتَقَةٍ مَتَا يَحْيَى، 'Aged wine, what the merchants bring'.

§422. The relative pronoun is always the subject of a compound clause (§368), which, as a relative clause, has a copulative personal pronoun like the predicate of a compound sentence: يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ مَنْ هُوَ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ 'God knows who has strayed into unmistakable error', اتَّفَقَ عَلَى مَا تَطْلُبُهُ 'He agreed as to what the people asked', مَا وَجَدْتُ مَرْكَبًا قَبْلَ الَّذِي 'I did not find any ship before the one in which I came'. The copulative pronoun may also appear in a subordinate clause governed by the relative clause: فَآتَنِي يَقُولُ أَنَّهَا الْجَنَّةُ هِيَ النَّارُ 'Therefore that which he says would be Paradise is (in reality) Hellfire'. The copulative pronoun may be lacking according to the conditions mentioned in §370: هُوَ الَّذِي فِي السَّمَاءِ إِلَهٌ وَفِي الْأَرْضِ إِلَهٌ 'He is the one who is God in heaven and God on earth'.

(Koran 43:84), أَتَسْجُدُ لِِمَنْ خَلَقْتَ طِينًا, 'Shall I bow myself to the one You have created of clay?' (Koran 17:61).

Note 1. If the relative clause is dependent on a preposition which must be repeated in the relative clause in combination with the copulative pronoun, the prepositions together with the personal suffix may be omitted in the relative clause: أَغْلِبِ الْقَوْمَ بِالَّذِي أَصِبتُ 'Seek revenge on those people for what happened to you' (where *bi* is omitted).

Note 2. If the copulative pronoun refers to a 1st or 2nd person in the main clause, this person also appears frequently in the relative clause: نَحْنُ الَّذِينَ إِذَا رُجِرْنَا آتَيْنَا 'We are the ones who, if driven back, moved forward'; cf. also §429.2.

§423. مَنْ 'who' is used to refer to persons and is usually treated as a masculine singular, even when it refers to a female or to several people: كَانَتْ إِحْدَى مِنْ أَتَنَهُمْ بِهِ مِنَ الْجَوَارِي 'She was one of the slave-girls whom he suspected' (§425 c), مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ, 'Among them was one who believed in him', مَنْ تَبِعَ هَذَا لَا خَوْفَ عَلَيْهِمْ, 'Whoever follows my guidance has nothing to fear'. Nevertheless, the construction may have *ad sensum* agreement: كَانَتْ فِيْمَنْ ضَرَبَ عَلَيْهَا الْحِجَابُ 'She was among those before whom the screen was erected', مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَسْتَمِعُونَ إِلَيْكَ, 'Among them there are some who listen to you' (Koran 10:42).

§424. مَا 'what' is used for things and is masculine singular: هَذَا مَا كَتَرْتُمْ 'This is what you have amassed for yourselves'. Sometimes it is used to refer to groups of people: مَا قَتَلَ الْأَمِيرُ صَبْرًا 'That which (i.e., those whom) the prince had killed in captivity' (cf. 425 c).

Note 1. See §416 on subordinating *mā* 'the fact that'.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *mā* is used for emphasis. The emphasized word comes at the beginning of the sentence and is followed by a clause introduced by *mā*: فَارِشٌ مَا غَادَرُوهُ 'It is a horseman that they have left behind', لِلْجَدِّ مَا خُلِقَ الْإِنْسَانُ 'It is for good luck that man was created'. In many cases, however, *mā* is syntactically unimportant and is placed before the emphasized word as an expletive: فَادْهَبِي مَا إِلَيْكَ 'So go away!' (§303.4), إِنْ أَكَّ مَا شَيْخًا كَبِيرًا 'if I became, so to speak, a very old man'.

§425. a) Relative clauses with مَنْ and مَا are as a rule indefinite. As such, they may occur in the position of a generic genitive (§387 a): كُلُّ مَا يَتَغَيَّرُ 'all that changes', شَرُّ مَنْ خَلَقَ اللَّهُ 'the most evil one that God has created', 'كَثِيرٌ مَا وَهَبُوا' 'much of what they gave'. They also appear as qualifying genitives: مَا تَرَى زَائِي مَا تَرَى 'You do not think what we think', أَمْرٌ مَا تَحْذَرُ 'the matter of which you are wary' (§392.2).

b) Relative *man* and *mā* are used in paronomastic constructions to express uncertainty: جَمَعْتُ مَا جَمَعْتُ 'I gathered what I gathered, i.e., a certain quantity', هُمْ مَا هُمْ 'They are what they are', i.e., 'they represent something', نَزَلَ مَنْ نَزَلَ مِنْهُمْ 'Some of them came down', أَنْ، فَبَكَتْ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ، تَمَسَّكَتْ 'Then he dwelled for as long as God willed'.

c) Frequently, partitive *min* (§299 b) is added to relative *man* and *mā*: فَأَعْطَانِي مَا كَانَ عِنْدَهُ مِنْ خُبْزٍ 'Then he gave me what he had of bread', i.e., 'the bread that he had', مَنْ دَخَلَ الشَّامَ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ 'Those Arabs who entered Syria'. In this case, *mā* often refers to groups of people: فَاتَّبِعُوا مَا طَابَ لَكُمْ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ 'So marry such women as seem good to you' (Koran 4:3).

Note 1. On relative clauses with conditional implication, see §461.

§426. الَّذِي introduces definite relative clauses. According to the subject referred to, the relative pronoun may be singular, dual, or plural and masculine or feminine (§281): قَدْ بَلَغَنَا الَّذِي قُلْتُمْ 'What you said reached our ears', أَحَسِبُ أَنَّهَا الَّتِي ذَكَرَهَا 'I think that it is she whom he mentioned', نَحْنُ الَّذِينَ بَكَوْا لَهُ 'We are the ones who cried for him'.

Note 1. On occasion, الَّذِي occurs in the role of introductory *mā* (§416), especially in constructions with *ka-* (§297): فَصَلُّوا كَالَّذِي كَانُوا يَفْعَلُونَ 'Then they prayed as they used to do', as well as in the post-classical phrase: أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي 'Thank God that ...'.

§427. Other interrogatives (§289) are also used as relatives: عَرَفَ الْمَكِيدَةَ 'He knew the trick and how the king employed it', وَاللَّهِ مَا نُبَالِي أَيْنَ ذَهَبَ 'By God, we do not care where he went'; cf. also §419b.

Attributive Relative Clauses

§428. An attributive relative clause occupies the position of an attributive adjective (§398). In attributive relative clauses, the governing substantive (*regens*) replaces the relative pronoun: رَجُلٌ قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي 'a man who struck me' (cf. مَنْ قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي 'one who struck me'). Like the attributive, the clause agrees with the *regens* in (in)definiteness. الَّذِي (§281) is used to make the clause definite. For its part, الَّذِي agrees with respect to gender (number) and case with the *regens*: الرَّجُلُ الَّذِي قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي 'the man who struck me', الْقَوْمُ الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ 'people who believe', definite قَوْمٌ يُؤْمِنُونَ 'people who believe', ثُمَّ إِنَّ وَلَدَيْهِ اللَّذَيْنِ قَتَلَاهُ هَرَبَا إِلَى الْجِبَالِ 'Thereupon his two sons, who had murdered him, fled into the mountains'.

Note 1. When there is generic definiteness, the attributive clause is not always explicitly defined: أَنْتَ الْوَزِيرُ لَا يُعَصَى 'You are the vizier who is not disobeyed', هُمُ الْفَوَارِسُ يَحْمُونَ النِّسَاءَ 'They are the horsemen who protect the women'.

§429. In an attributive relative clause, the copulative personal pronoun refers to the *regens*. In an indefinite relative clause, the pronoun appears as a rule; in a definite relative clause, it may, under the circumstances mentioned in §370, be dropped: لَمَّا كَانَ بِالْكُوفَةِ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا هُوَ بِهَا إِلَى الْيَوْمِ 'When he was in Kufah, he built a mosque, which stands there even today', رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا أَعْمَى يَقُودُهُ شَابٌّ 'I saw a blind man whom a youth was leading', إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ الَّذِي تَطْلُبُ بِالْبَابِ 'The man whom you seek is at the door'.

Note 1. The copulative pronoun may also appear in a clause subordinate to a relative clause: قَدْ قَرَّبَ إِلَيْهِ الْخَيْشُ الَّذِي ظَنَّ أَنَّهُ بَعِيدٌ 'The army that he thought was distant drew near him'.

Note 2. The 1st and 2nd persons appearing in the main clause may reappear in indefinite relative clauses and sometimes in definite relative clauses (§422.2): أَنْتُمْ قَوْمٌ تَخْفَهُونَ 'You are people who are ignorant', أَنْتَ آدَمُ الَّذِي 'You are Adam, who misled mankind'.

§430. a) In an attributive relative clause with an adjectival predicate, the adjective immediately follows the *regens* and agrees with it in case and definiteness; however, it agrees in gender (number) with the appropri-

ate subject coming afterward. That subject takes a copulative pronoun: قَوْمٌ شَدِيدَةٌ رَأَيْتُ امْرَأَةً حَسَنًا وَجْهَهَا 'I saw a woman whose face was pretty', النَّوَارِخُ الَّتِي ذَكَرَهَا 'the to-be-mentioned chronicles', نَكَائِهِمْ 'people whose harmfulness is severe'.

Note 1. At times, the copulative pronoun appears with another part of the clause: هُوَ الْحَجَرُ الَّتِي بِهِ اللَّهُ مَنْ رَمَى 'That is the stone which God throws at the one whom he wishes to throw it at'.

b) This kind of relative clause may also function as a substantive: إِنَّمَا الصَّدَقَاتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ... وَالْمُؤَلَّفَةِ... وَمَحْمُورَةِ عَيْنِهِ 'one whose eyes are reddened', قُلُوبُهُمْ 'The alms are only for the poor ... and those whose hearts should be made to tend (to Islam)' (Koran 9:60).

Predicate Circumstantial Clauses

§431. a) Circumstantial clauses, which modify and complement the governing verb (cf. §§202 c; 408), occupy the position of the circumstantial accusative (§§380 ff.): بَعَثَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ يَطْلُبُ الصَّلَاحَ 'He sent to Mu'āwiyah to ask for peace', دَخَلَ الْبَيْتَ لَا تَسْلَمُ عَلَيَّ 'He entered the room without greeting me'.

b) With the imperfect, the circumstantial clause indicates action or intent that is conceived to be simultaneous with or following the action expressed by the governing verb: ثُمَّ نَزَعَتْ ثِيَابَهَا تَغْتَسِلُ 'Then she removed her garments in order to bathe', خَرَجْتُ أَنَا وَآبِي نَتَصَيَّدُ 'I went out with my father with the intention of hunting'. — The perfect, sometimes with *qad*, indicates a condition that already obtains: جَاءُواكُمْ حَصِرَتْ صُدُورُهُمْ 'They came to you with their breasts constricted' (Koran 4:90). See §435 on nominal clauses.

c) If the subject of the circumstantial clause is different from that of the main clause, a copulative personal pronoun refers to the subject of the main clause: أَقْبَلُوا تُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ خَيْلُهُمْ 'They approached while their horses galloped with them'.

§432. Very often circumstantial clauses are governed by verbs whose literal meanings have faded and which have come to indicate merely *Aktionsarten*, or modes of action (§190).

a) 'begin': جَعَلْتُ أَحْذَرُهُمْ 'I began to warn them', أَخَذَ يُعَاتِبُهُ 'He began to blame him', طَفِيقُ الْقَوْمِ يَرْجِعُونَ 'Suddenly the people returned'.

b) 'become': فَأَصْبَحَ النَّاسُ يَضْحَكُونَ بِهِ 'Then it came to the point that the people laughed at him', أُمْسِي قَدْ انْقَطَعَ الْخَبْلُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ 'I shall end up such that the bond between him and me will have been severed'.

c) 'persist': يَطْلُ يَتَّبِعُهَا 'He persisted in following her', مَكَثَ عُثْمَانُ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ لَمْ يُدْفَن 'Uthman remained for three days without being buried'.

d) 'repeat': لَمْ يُعْرَفُوا يَرْفُوقَهُ 'They no longer recognized him'; cf. also §446.2.

Note 1. This kind of construction is extended to some other semantically related verbs, which occur in combination with 'an clauses (§414), so that both constructions may be used interchangeably: كَادَ النَّعَامُ أَنْ يَطِيرَ or أَرَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَهُ or أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَقْتُلُوهُ 'The ostrich can almost fly', 'They wanted to kill him'.

§433. A predicate circumstantial clause following the verb may refer to the object, just as a circumstantial accusative in the same position refers to the object (§381): أَطَّنْتِي قَدْ صَدَقْتُ 'I consider myself to have spoken the truth', وَجَدَ الْبَابَ قَدْ فَتِحَ 'He found the door already opened', شَهِدْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَقْرَأُ 'I witnessed the Messenger of God reading', أَبْعَثُ إِلَيْكَ أُخْتًا تَكُونُ مَعَكَ 'I shall send our sister so that she will be with you'.

Note 1. The subject of the circumstantial clause may also in this case be different from the object of the main clause: تَرَى رَأْسِي تَغَيَّرَ لَوْنُهُ شَمَطًا 'You see that the color of my head has changed to gray'.

Note 2. The verb of the circumstantial clause may refer to two nouns and, as such, is in the dual: تَرَكَ عُرْوَةَ مَعَ عَفْرَاءَ يَتَحَدَّثَانِ 'He left Urwah with Afra chatting with each other'.

§434. After verbs of sense perception or intellectual activity, substantive clauses which describe an event take the form of a circumstantial clause, and introductory 'anna is dropped (§417.2): سَمِعْتُ مُوَلَّاكَ قَالَ لَكَ بَأْسًا 'I heard that your client said something bad to you', رَأَيْتُ عَمْرًا فِي الْمَنَامِ كَسَانِي رِدَاءَهُ 'I saw Amr in a dream wearing his robe'.

'I saw in the dream that Amr covered me in his robe', نَعْلَمُ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ قَدْ مَاتَ
'We know that the enemy of God died', حُزِنَتْهَا قَالَتْ 'It was reported to me
that she said ...'.

Note 1. After *mā li-* (§285.1) and *mā bālu-* 'why ...?', an asyndetic clause follows instead of the circumstantial accusative: مَا لِي لَمْ أَتَمَنَّ بِكَ 'Why did I not hear of you?', مَا بَالُ غَيْثِكَ مِنْهَا أَلْنَاءُ يَنْسَكِبُ 'Why is water pouring down from your eye?'.

§435. a) Predicate nominal clauses describe the condition of the subject or object: كُنْتُ أَمْشِي مَعَهُ يَدُهُ فِي يَدِي 'I used to walk with him, while his hand was in mine'; referring to the object: لَقِيتُهُ عَلَيْهِ جَبَّةٌ وَشِي 'I met him when he was wearing an ornate jacket'.

Note 1. Nominal clauses may appear in apposition to a circumstantial accusative: إِنَّ الْمَمْلَكَةَ تَصِيرُ مُخْتَلِفَةً بَعْضُهَا قَوِيٌّ وَبَعْضُهَا ضَعِيفٌ 'The kingdom will become diverse, partly strong and partly weak'.

b) If it comes at the beginning of the clause, the subject of the predicate nominal clause may appear in the circumstantial accusative: كُنْتُ أَمْشِي مَعَهُ يَدُهُ فِي يَدِي 'I used to walk with him hand in hand'. Similarly, an adjectival predicate tends to come at the beginning and then is inserted as a circumstantial accusative in the main clause (§380): رَأَيْتُ عَمْرًا مَحْمُومَةً يَدَاهُ 'I saw Amr, his hands tied with a rope to his neck' (§356 b), نَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ بِمُؤَخَّرِ عَيْنِهِ مَضْرُوفًا عَنْهُ وَجْهَهُ 'He looked at him out of the corner of his eye with his face turned away', إِنَّ حَاجَتَكَ تُقْضَى كَائِنَ مَا كَانَتْ 'Your request will be fulfilled, whatever it be'.

Appositional Circumstantial Clauses

§436. In apposition, a circumstantial clause indicates a temporary condition of the *regens*: لِمَنِ الدَّيَارُ غَشِيَتْهَا 'Whose are the dwellings that I have come to?' (Beginning of an old Arabic *qaṣīdah*), كَمِثْلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَشْفَارًا 'like the ass that is carrying books' (Koran 62:5).

Adverbial Clauses

§437. Numerous subordinate clauses occupy the position of circumstantial adverbial expressions. Among them are substantive clauses that are depen-

dent on prepositions or adverbial accusatives; e.g.: مَا رَأَيْنَاهُ لِأَنَّهُ مَاتَ مِنْ قَبْلُ 'We did not see him any more, because he had died before', يَأْكُرُنَهَا قَبْلَ مَا 'I came to her early, before morning appeared to us', أَذِينَا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَأْتِيَنَا وَمِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جِئْنَا 'We were tormented before you came and after you came', رَبَّنَا لَا تُزِغْ قُلُوبَنَا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَيْتَنَا 'Our Lord, do not cause our hearts to stray after you have guided us right!' (Koran 3:8) (§344.2), شَدَّوْهُ رَبَاطًا أَوَّلَ مَا أَتَبَهُ 'They bound him tight as soon as he woke up'; cf. §418.

Note 1. See §§346; 420 on the adverbial accusative with genitive clauses. On *mundhu*, *mudh* 'since' §300, *ladun* ('an) 'since' §306, *qabla* 'before' §346.1.

§438. Clauses expressing intent or purpose are introduced by *li-*, *li-an* (§295) or *kay*, *li-kay* 'so that, in order to' and the subjunctive (§196): أَرَادَ أَنْ لَمْ أَحْذِكَ لِأَقْتُلَكَ 'I did not seize you with the intent of killing you', يُخِيفُنِي لِئَلَّا أَرْجِعَ 'He wanted to frighten me, so that I would not return', يَتَوَقَّى قَلْبِي إِلَيْكُمْ نِي يَلْقَيْكُمْ 'My heart longs for you, in order to meet with you'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect sometimes comes after *kay-mā* (§345.1) and *ka-mā* (§418.2) 'so that, in order to': لَيْكِنَمَا تَقُولُ 'so that she says'.

Note 2. It may happen that a clause expressing intent is coordinated with a circumstantial accusative (§380.1): إِنَّمَا خَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ مُرْهَبًا لِلْعَدُوِّ وَلِيُنَلِّعَهُمْ 'The Messenger of God went out only to threaten the enemy and to let them know ...'.

Note 3. لَمْ يَكُنْ لِ or مَا كَانَ لِ means 'not inclined to, not apt to, not in a position to do something, not capable of doing something': لَمْ أَكُنْ لِأَمْسَهَا 'I was incapable of touching her'.

§439. a) سَارُوا حَتَّى طَلَعَتِ الشَّمْسُ (§304) 'until, as long as': 'They traveled until the sun came up', بَقِيَ حَتَّى أَذْرَكَ خِلَافَةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ 'He remained alive until he reached the caliphate of Abū Bakr', i.e., 'He lived to see the caliphate of Abū Bakr'; 'to the extent that, so much that': عَمَهُ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى 'That saddened him so much that he refused to eat break-

fast', مَا فَعَلَتْ حَتَّى آسْتَوْجِبَتْ الْقَتْلَ 'What did she do to deserve to be killed?'; sometimes the consecutive 'so that': رَأَيْتُ السَّمَاءَ أَفْرَجَتْ لِي حَتَّى دَخَلْتُهَا 'I saw that Heaven was parted for me so that I could enter it'. Frequently, *hattā* leads up to a concluding action, 'until eventually, thereupon, finally': لَمْ يَفْعَلْ حَتَّى أَعْلَقَ بَابَهُ فِي وَجْهِهِ 'He did nothing, until finally he closed the door in his face', خَرَجَ حَتَّى قَعَدَ لِلنَّارِ 'He came out and thereupon sat at the fire'.

Note 1. After negative clauses, *hattā* has the sense of 'before, not even ... when': لَمْ آتِكُمْ حَتَّى أَتْنِي كُتُبَكُمْ 'I had not come to you before your letters reached me'. It is also used to introduce a sudden occurrence: مَا بَلَغْتُ مَا بَلَغْتُ حَتَّى سَمِعْتُ 'I had not yet reached the door when I heard ...'.

b) Statements of fact follow *hattā* in the perfect, infrequently in the imperfect or as nominal clauses: يُغَشُّونَ حَتَّى لَا يَهْرُكَلَهُمْ 'They are visited so often that their dogs do not snarl'. Expected or intended actions are described in the subjunctive (§196): فَاصْبِرُوا حَتَّى يَحْكُمَ اللَّهُ بَيْنَنَا 'Be patient until God will judge between us' (Koran 7:87), لَا بُدَّ مِنَ التَّأَمُّلِ قَبْلَ 'We must meditate before we speak, in order that our words may be appropriate'.

Note 2. A clause introduced by *inna* (§339) and by *ka'anna* (§365) may follow *hattā*.

§440. a) *hattā* frequently precedes a clause introduced by *idhā* (§464): لَيْسَتْ التَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ قَالَ 'There is no repentance for those who do evil deeds until, when one of them is visited by death, he says, indeed I repent' (Koran 4:18). *idhā* after *hattā* usually has a temporal function without the conditional implication common in *idhā*-clauses (§445); as a rule, the perfect comes after *hattā* *idhā*: لَمْ تَزَلْ سَلَمَى مُعَاصِبَةً لِسَعْدٍ حَتَّى إِذَا أَصْبَحَتْ أَتَتْهُ وَصَاحَتْهُ 'Salmā remained angry at Sa'd; finally, however, when morning came, she went to him and reconciled', اِنْصَرَفَ إِلَى مَنْزِلِهِ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ مِنَ الْعَدِ خَرَجَ 'He went to his dwelling and, when the next morning arrived, came back out'.

Note 1. *idhā-mā* (§465) may also follow *hattā*.

b) Often the continuation of the *hattā* clause is lacking after the *idhā*-clause. As a result, *hattā idhā* as a fixed construction has the meaning 'until finally': 'فَجَرَحُوا حَتَّى إِذَا كَانُوا عَلَى الرَّجِيعِ فَغَدَرُوا فِيهِ' 'Then they went out until at last they were before al-Rajī, and then they betrayed him', 'ذَهَبَ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ الْيَوْمُ الثَّالِثُ' 'They went away until the third day arrived', 'لَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَغَدَهُ ... حَتَّى إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ' 'God has been true in his promise towards you, ... until you finally lost heart' (Koran 3:152).

§441. رَمَى بِهِمْ حَيْثُ 'where' begins adverbial subordinate clauses: 'رَمَى بِهِمْ حَيْثُ' 'He shot the arrow where he had heard the sound'; — to substantiate or restrict, 'سَمِعَ الْجَيْشَ غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَتَّعْظُوا' 'God was angry at them inasmuch as they would not be admonished'. Prepositions like *bi-*, *min*, *ilā*, among others, come before *haythu* for clarity: 'حَدَّثْتُ حَيْثُ يُسْمَعُ الْخُذَاءُ' 'I provoked where it was listened to', 'أَلْجِسُ حَيْثُ هُوَ جِسْمٌ' 'the body insofar as it is a body', i.e., 'the body as body, the body *qua* body'.

Note 1. As with relative clauses (§§421 ff.), a copulative personal pronoun may on rare occasion come after *haythu*, or *haythu* may appear with partitive *min* (§425 c): 'أَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَصِرَّافَ إِلَى حَيْثُ أَقْبَلْتُ مِنْهُ' 'I wanted to go back to where I had come from', 'إِرْغُوا مِنْ أَرْضِنَا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمْ' 'Graze in our land wherever you wish' (with conditional implication: §461.1).

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, the subordinate clause is at times reduced to just a subject: 'دَخَلْتُ حَيْثُ الْقَبْرِ' 'I went into where the grave was', 'مِنْ حَيْثُ الصُّورَةُ' 'from there where the form is', i.e., 'as to, with respect to, concerning the form'.

§442. a) إِذْ 'when, as' (§280), as a conjunction, indicates a particular time, usually in the past: 'قَدْ ظَلَمْتَهُمْ إِذْ حَبَسْتَهُمْ' 'You treated them wrongly when you imprisoned them', 'إِذْ يَنْقُوتُونَ بِي الْأَسِنَّةَ لَمْ أَجْمِ' 'As (while) they protected themselves with me from the spear-tips, I did not recoil like a coward'; — sometimes also in the future or present: 'هَلْ يَسْمَعُونَكَ إِذْ تَدْعُونَ' 'Do they hear you when you call?', 'يَا لَيْتَنِي أَكُونُ حَيًّا إِذْ يُخْرِجُكَ قَوْمُكَ' 'If only I could be alive when your people drive you out'.

b) Not infrequently, especially in post-classical Arabic, *’idh* expresses a reason and means ‘since, because’: أَنْتَ إِذْ لَمْ تُضَلِّحْ لِأَبِيكَ لَا تُضَلِّحْ لِي ‘You, since you did not treat your father kindly, will not treat me kindly’.

Note 1. In the Koran (2:126; 14:35), *’idh* sometimes begins a main clause and indicates a time in the past, ‘once, at one time’: وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ رَبِّ أَجْعَلْ هَذَا الْبَلَدَ آمِنًا ‘And once Abraham said: My Lord, make this place safe!’.

§443. لَمَّا or أَنْ followed by the perfect introduces an action that is a precondition of what takes place in the main clause: لَمَّا رَمَتْهُ لَمَّا دَنَا مِنِّي ‘When she shot at me, she hit me with her arrow’, رَفَعَ يَدَهُ فَلَطَمَنِي ‘After he had drawn near me, he raised his hand and slapped me’; — sometimes giving a reason: لَمَّا يَكُنْ لِيَحْبِيهِ مَقْصُودٌ لَمْ يَتَلَفَعْ فِيهِ الْغَايَةَ ‘Since (because) his searching had no aim, he did not reach with it the final objective’.

Note 1. The main clause sometimes begins with *’idhā* (§280) or *fa-* (§329): لَمَّا بَرَزُوا إِذَا هُمْ يَفْقِدُونَ سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا ‘When they emerged, they were missing seventy men’.

§444. بَيْنَمَا ‘while’ begins a circumstantial clause (§§407.2; 409). The subject comes immediately after *bayna-mā*, *baynā*; the subsequent main clause is often introduced by *’idh*, and occasionally by *fa-* or *fa-’idhā* (§280): بَيْنَمَا أَنَا ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ جَالِسٌ أَقْبَلَتْ عَلَيَّ ‘While I sat there one day, she approached me’, بَيْنَمَا نَحْنُ نَمْشِي إِذْ عَرَضَ رَجُلٌ ‘While we were walking along, a man suddenly appeared’, بَيْنَمَا النَّاسُ قَدْ أَجْمَعُوا لِلْحَرْبِ تَدَاعَوْا إِلَى الصُّلْحِ ‘While they resolved to go to war, they suddenly called upon one another for peace’.

Note 1. The subordinate clause is sometimes reduced to just a subject: بَيْنَمَا صَلَاةُ الْعَصْرِ إِذْ أَبْصَرْتُ الْإِسْكِينَ ‘While it was afternoon prayer, I caught sight of the poor man’, بَيْنَمَا ذَاكَ ‘meanwhile’.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the suffix of the 3rd masculine is occasionally added: بَيْنَاهُ ‘while he ...’, بَيْنَاهُمْ ‘while they ...’.

Note 3. In post-classical Arabic, the perfect (without *qad*) occurs.

Conditional Sentences

§445. a) There are two types of conditional sentences in Arabic: 1. real (or valid) conditional sentences, in which the protasis presents a statement of fact that is believed to be generally valid and realizable at any time as the precondition or premise (introductory particle *in* §§450 ff.); 2. unreal (or unfulfilled, hypothetical) conditional sentences, in which the protasis presents a specific hypothetical situation or action as the presupposition (introductory particle *law* §§453 ff.). To be included among the former type are also sentences with conditional implication (§§460 ff.), in which again a statement of fact that is universally accepted as such is given as the premise.

b) As a rule, the protasis precedes the apodosis (main clause). Variations from this order are, however, not unusual: لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّ نَحْنَا 'May I not be saved, if he is saved!', إِنِّي أَجَبْتُ لَوْ سَأَلْتَنِي 'I would have answered, if you had only asked me'.

Note 1. When dependent on introductory particles like *'inna* (§338), the subject of the protasis may appear before the conjunction at the beginning of the sentence: إِنِّي كُلَّمَا دَعَوْتُهُمْ لِتَغْفِرَ لَهُمْ جَعَلُوا أَصَابِعَهُمْ فِي آذَانِهِمْ 'Whenever I call them that You might forgive them, they put their fingers into their ears' (Koran 71:7). The subject of the apodosis may also come before the conjunction: أَنَا لَوْ ذَهَبَ مَالِي لَجَلَسْتُ قَاصًّا 'Should my possessions disappear, I would sit down as a story teller'.

§446. a) In conditional sentences and sentences with conditional implication, the statement of fact in the premise (i.e., in the protasis), as it is generally valid and not restricted in time, is described in the jussive or perfect. In the apodosis, the verb is also in the jussive or perfect, insofar as it contains a generally valid result: مَتَى تَعْجَلْ تَنْدَمَ 'Whenever you are hasty, you will regret it', مَنْ جَالَ نَالَ 'He who roams will reach something'. For negative sentences, *lam* with the jussive is used: إِنْ لَمْ يَنْزَحْ لَمْ أَرْضَ 'If he does not vanish, I shall not be content'.

b) In sentences with conditional implication, *kāna*, indicating the past, usually appears at the beginning of the sentence before the conjunction and indicates that the entire sentence is in the past. As a rule, *kāna* agrees

with the subject of the protasis: كُنْتُ مَتَى تُجِبِلَ حَصِيْمَكَ يَجِبِلُ 'Whenever you considered your adversary stupid, he was'; see also §464 b. Sometimes *kāna* indicating the past appears before *in*.

Note 1. Verbs that indicate mode of action (§432) are also used on occasion to indicate the past; in the apodosis the general perfect appears instead of the predicate imperfect: فَعَمِلَ كُلُّمَا مَرَّ بِحَيٍّ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ بِطَرِيقِ الشَّامِ أَحَدٌ مِنْ أَشْرَافِهِمْ 'Then he began, whenever he passed by a tribe of the Arabs on the road to Syria, to enter into a relationship with the distinguished among them'.

§447. The apodosis, which follows the protasis, is introduced by particles under the following specific circumstances:

a) *fa-* (§329) begins the apodosis after *in* and after clauses with conditional implication, if the apodosis does not contain a generally valid statement in the jussive, perfect, or imperfect; i.e., *fa-* comes: 1. before nominal and copulative clauses (§§360 ff.): *إِنْ تَشْخَرُوا مِنَّا فَإِنَّا نَشْخَرُ* 'If you scoff at us, we shall surely scoff at you, as you scoff' (Koran 11:38), *إِذَا أَتَيْنَا سَائِلِينَ فَلَيْسَ مِنَ الْأَشْحَاءِ* 'When we come asking, he is not among the stingy', *إِنْ فَعَلْتَ ذَلِكَ فَبِعِزِّ الْقَوِيِّ أَنْتَ* 'If you do that, you are an admirable young man indeed' (§§259 f.); 2. before clauses containing commands and prohibitions: *إِذَا رَأَيْتَنِي أُرْمِرُ فَلَا تَدْخُلْ* 'If you see me making a sign, do not enter!', *فِي أَيِّ أَرْضٍ شِئْتَ فَانْزِلْ* 'In whatever land you wish, settle!'; 3. before the future particles *sawfa*, *sa-*, *lan* (§187): *إِنْ عَادَ فَلَنْ يَلْقَانِي* 'If you return, you will not encounter me'; 4. before the verbal particle *qad* (§189) and *عَسَى* 'it could be, perhaps' (§342.2): *إِنْ أَشْلَمُوا فَقَدْ أَهْتَدَوْا* 'If they become Muslims, they are rightly guided'; 5. before an abbreviated apodosis (§448) and in most cases before an apodosis that does not contain a direct logical conclusion (§449).

b) *la-* (§334) generally begins the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence: *لَوْ لَمْ أَغْرِفْهُ لَسَأَلْتُ عَنْهُ* 'If I had not known him, I would have asked about him', *لَوْ أَنَّي فِيكُمْ لَرَأَيْتُ مِنْكُمْ شَرًّا* 'Had I been with you, I would have experienced your evilness'. In real conditional clauses, *la-* tends to be used

in both the protasis and the apodosis, and *fa-* is not used to introduce the apodosis: لَئِنْ كُنْتَ صَادِقًا لَقَدْ قَتَلْتَنِي وَإِنْ كُنْتَ كَاذِبًا لَقَدْ فَضَحْتَنِي 'If you are truthful, you have killed me; but if you are a liar, you have exposed me'.

Note 1. Sometimes *'idhan* 'then' (§284 b) introduces the apodosis: لَوْ خَلَدَ الْأَمْلُوكُ إِذَا خَلَدْنَا 'If kings lived forever, so would we'. It is typically also found in the apodosis of a sentence with an unspoken protasis: لَا أَتَّبِعُ أَهْوَاءَكُمْ قَدْ صَلَّيْتُ 'I do not follow your caprices; (if I did,) I would fall into error'.

§448. The apodosis may be abbreviated, if the missing component of the clause can be inferred from the protasis (cf. §406). It is then introduced by *fa-*: إِنْ يَكُنْ فِي أَحَدٍ مِنْكُمْ خَيْرٌ فَبِي هَذَا 'If there is to be found good in any of you, then (it is to be found) in this one', مَنْ عَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلِنَفْسِهِ 'He who does a good deed, (does it) for himself' (Koran 41:46; 45:15).

§449. The apodosis of real conditional sentences and sentences with conditional implication does not always contain an immediate logical conclusion, but a reply, assessment, or confirmation of the assumption made in the protasis: "If this is so, well, such and such is the case", e.g., إِنْ يَشْرِقْ فَقَدْ شَرِقَ 'If he is a thief, well, a brother of his was already a thief before' (Koran 12:77), إِنْ قُلْتُمْ إِنَّا ظَلَمْنَا فَلَمْ نَكُنْ ظَالِمِينَ 'If you declare that we did wrong, well, we had never done wrong', إِمَّا تَرِينَا لَا تَزَالُ دِمَاؤُنَا فَإِنَّا لَحُمُ السَّيْفِ 'If ever you (fem.) see that our blood does not cease (flowing), well, we are just flesh for the sword.'

§450. a) إِنْ 'if, in case' introduces real conditional sentences. The apodosis for the most part is a generally valid and always realizable statement of fact. The verb is in the jussive or perfect: إِنْ تَصْبِرُوا يُمْدِدْكُمْ رَبُّكُمْ 'If you are patient, your Lord will help you', إِنْ نَفَعَنِي غَنَائِي يَوْمًا نَفَعَنِي الْيَوْمَ 'If my wealth one day serves me, it benefits me today'.

Note 1. In poetry, the imperfect or energetic occurs in isolated cases: إِنْبِذِ الْهَمُومَ إِنْ تَضِيقُ بِهِمَا 'Banish your cares, if you feel anguish because of them'.

b) If the protasis puts into question a specific fact, *kāna* (or *yakun*) is used with the perfect or imperfect. The perfect then indicates a fact that could have already been realized, while the imperfect indicates an expected

action: *إِنْ كَانَ قَمِيصُهُ قُدَّ مِنْ قُبُلٍ فَصَدَقَتْ* 'If his shirt has been torn from the front, then she has spoken the truth' (Koran 12:26), *لَئِنْ كَانَ يَسْمَعُ بَعْضَهُ لَقَدْ يَسْمَعُ كُلَّهُ* 'If he hears part of it, then perhaps he hears all of it'.

c) Any clause structure is possible (see §447 a) in the apodosis, provided it is not a generally valid conclusion. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect may appear along with the jussive and perfect (§446 a) even in a generally valid sense: *وَهُوَ يَرِثُهَا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهَا وَلَدٌ* 'And he is her heir, if she has no children' (Koran 4:176).

Note 2. In a negative apodosis, *lam* appears with the jussive. In pre-classical Arabic, *lā* may occur with the jussive: *إِنْ تَدْعُوهُمْ إِلَى الْهُدَى لَا يَتَّبِعُوكُمْ* 'If you call them to the guidance, they do not heed you' (Koran 7:193).

Note 3. See §§456 ff. on *in* in disjunctive, concessive, and oath clauses.

§451. *إِمَّا* 'if, if ... ever' (< *in-mā* §290) functions like *in*: *إِمَّا تَعُدُّوا* 'If you ever count the good deeds, I shall also speak about them'. Relatively frequently, the energetic follows: *إِمَّا تَرَيَنَّ مِنَ الْبَشَرِ أَحَدًا فَقُولِي* 'If you (fem.) ever see any mortal, then say ...' (Koran 19:26).

Note 1. On disjunctive *immā*, see §459; on *immā-lā*, see §314.

§452. a) *إِلَّا* 'if not, unless' (§45) is used only in pre-classical Arabic to introduce negative conditional clauses. The jussive always follows: *إِلَّا تَفْعَلُوهُ تَكُنْ فِتْنَةٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَفَسَادٌ كَبِيرٌ* 'Unless you do this, there will be upheaval in the land and a great corruption' (Koran 8:73).

b) *وَالْإِلَّا* 'and if not, otherwise' occurs as a negative alternative to a positive *in*-clause whose apodosis ('then it is good, all well and good' *فِيهَا*) is usually left unexpressed. In the apodosis, the perfect expressing a generally valid conclusion follows *wa-illā*: *إِنْ تَحْمِلْ عَلَى مَوَاعِيدِكَ وَإِلَّا ضَرَبْتُ عُقْبَكَ* 'If you keep your promises (that is good), and if not, I shall knock off your head'. With a similar meaning, *wa-illā* comes after a command: *أَطِيعْنِي وَإِلَّا فَأَيُّ تَارِكِكُ* 'Obey me, otherwise I will abandon you!'.¹

Note 1. See §310 for *illā* as a particle of exception. See also §456.

§453. a) لو 'if' introduces an unreal or potential conditional sentence which contains a hypothetical presumption of a specific unrealized event. The apodosis is as a rule introduced by *la-*. Earlier stages of Arabic used the perfect and imperfect with their aspect function after *law* (§§180 ff.): لو نَعْلَمُ قِتَالًا لَا تَبَغْنَاكُمْ 'If we knew how to fight, we would follow you', لو قَدْ أَصَابُونِي لَهَوَا عَنْ طَلَبِ غَيْرِي 'If they had caught me, they would have given up the pursuit of someone else', وَلَوْ سَمِعُوا دُعَاءَكُمْ لَا يَسْمَعُوا 'If you call upon them, they will not hear your call; and if they had heard, they would not have answered you' (Koran 35:14).

b) Frequently in classical Arabic and regularly in post-classical, the perfect is used in a generally valid sense (§446 a): لَوْ كَانَ غَائِقًا 'If he had (were to have) loved passionately, he would not waver (have wavered)'. To express the past explicitly, *kāna* may be used with the perfect: لَوْ كُنْتُمْ دَعَوْتُمُونَا أَطَعْنَاكُمْ 'If you had called us, we would have heeded you'.

Note 1. To express an absurdly unreal condition, *law* is sometimes strengthened through the addition of *in*: إِنْ لَوْ جَاءَكَ عَمُّ مُوسَى مُسْلِمًا مَا كُنْتَ صَانِعًا بِهِ 'If ever it were to happen that the uncle of Moses came to you as a convert to Islam, what would you do to him?'.

Note 2. See §§457 f. on *law* in wish and concessive sentences.

§454. لَوْ أَنَّ occurs in place of *law* when a nominal or copulative clause follows (§§360 ff.): لَوْ أَنِّي جِئْتُ فَلَانًا الْخَمَّارَ لَعَلِّي أَجِدُ عِنْدَهُ خَمْرًا 'If I would come to so-and-so, the wine-merchant, maybe I could find some wine with him'.

Note 1. In poetry, *law* *anna* occurs as لَوْ أَنَّ *law-anna*.

§455. لَوْلَا 'if not' in classical Arabic is always followed by a noun in the nominative: لَوْلَا حُبُّ أَهْلِكَ مَا أَتَيْتُ 'If it were not for the love of your people, I would not have come'. A substantive clause (§§414 f.) introduced by *an* or *anna* may also follow: لَوْلَا أَنْ تُفْسِدَ بِالْفَاظِكِ أَكْثَرَ رِعْيَتِي مَا حَبَسْتُكَ 'If you were not perverting most of my subjects with your words, I would not have imprisoned you', لَوْلَا أَنَّ لِسَانَ الْفِيلِ مَقْلُوبٌ لَتَكَلَّمَ 'If the tongue of the elephant were not turned upside down, he would speak'.

Note 1. The personal pronoun in the form of either an independent pronoun or a personal suffix may follow: **لَوْلَا** or **أَنْتَ لَوْلَا** 'if it were not for you, but for you'.

Defective Conditional Sentences

§456. Sentences containing oaths are usually introduced by *in*, *illā*; *in* for negative, *illā* for positive oaths: **إِلَّا أَنْشُدْتَنِي الْبَيْتَ** 'By my life, if you do not recite the verse for me!', i.e., 'Recite the verse for me!'; frequently, after verbs expressing oaths: **نَسَدْتُكَ اللَّهُ إِنْ رِمْتَ هَذَا الْمَكَانَ أَبَدًا** 'I swear to you by God that you shall never leave this place!'.

Note 1. *lammā* may appear in place of *illā*; again, the perfect follows: **أَسْأَلُكَ لَنَا أَخْبَرْتَنِي** 'I ask you not to inform me' (§334.1).

§457. Sentences expressing wishes are frequently introduced by *law*: **لَوْ أَنِّي** 'If I only knew him!', **لَوْ كُنْتُ أَسْوَدَ اللَّحْيَةِ وَالرَّأْسِ** 'If only you had a black beard and head!', **لَوْ سَأَلْتَهُ أَنْ يَقِيمَ عِنْدَنَا** 'If you had asked him to stay with us!' (i.e., Ask him to ...), **يُودُّ لَوْ أَنَّ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَهَا أَمَدًا بَعِيدًا** 'He would like there to be a wide space between him and her'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *law-lā* and *law-mā* in interrogative sentences have the meaning 'why not ...?': **لَوْ مَا تَأْتِينَا بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنْ كُنْتَ مِنْ الصَّادِقِينَ** 'Why do you not bring the angels to us, if you speak truly?' (Koran 15:7), **لَوْلَا دَفَعَهُ عَنْهُ** 'Why did he not defend him?'.

§458. *in* and *law* clauses coordinated by *wa-* function as concessive clauses. The verb is in the perfect, and in pre-classical Arabic at times in the jussive: **هَدَاكُمْ وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ لِنَ الضَّالِّينَ** 'He has guided you, though formerly you were gone astray' (Koran 2:198), **لَوْ عَلِمْتُ لَأَخْتُمْتُ خَلْفَهُ وَلَوْ دَخَلَ النَّارَ** 'Had I known (it), I would have rushed after him, even if he had gone into Hellfire'. Often, only components of the sentence that supplement the main clause follow *wa-law*: **فَأَمَرَ الْأَمِيرَ بِإِخْصَارِهِ وَلَوْ مَحْمُولًا** 'Then the prince commanded him to be brought in, even though he had to be carried', **كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ** 'Be steadfast in fairness, even if it goes against yourselves!'.

§459. a) Disjunctive conditional clauses are introduced by *in* ... *wa-in* or *immā* ... *wa-immā*: **إِنْ كَانَ قَمِيصُهُ قَدْ مِنْ قَبْلِ فَصَدَقْتَ وَإِنْ كَانَ قَمِيصُهُ قَدْ مِنْ**

دُبِّرَ فَكَذَبَتْ 'If his shirt has been torn from the front, then she has spoken the truth ... If his shirt is torn from behind, then she has lied' (Koran 12:26-27) (§450 b). Before the second part of the sentence, *wa-in*, *wa-immā* may be replaced by *aw* (§331): *إِنْ تُقْبِلُوا نَعَايِقُ أَوْ تُذْهِبُوا نُفَارِقُ* 'If you draw near, we shall embrace (you), or if you turn away, we shall withdraw', i.e., 'Either you approach, then we embrace you, or you turn away, then we withdraw'.

b) Disjunctive sentences beginning with *in* ... *wa-in*/*aw* and *immā* ... *wa-immā*/*aw* may appear instead of alternative conditional sentences (§452 b). Accordingly, the verb is in the generally valid perfect: *إِمَّا جِئْتَنِي أَلَيْتَنِي أَوْ فَعَلْتَ* 'Either you come to me tonight, or I will do it (i.e., will come to you)'. Frequently, an *an*-clause follows *immā* (§414) in such alternative disjunctive sentences: *أَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهِمْ إِمَّا أَنْ تَضَعُوا السَّلَاحَ وَإِمَّا أَنْ تُوْذِنُوا بِحَرْبٍ* 'He sent to them: Either lay down your arms or declare war'.

Note 1. Consistent with the conditional implication in alternative sentences, the perfect usually also appears with *aw* (§331) or *am* (§333) in disjunctive sentences: *سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أُنْذِرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تُنْذِرْهُمْ* 'It is all the same for them, if you warn them or do not warn them' (Koran 2:6; 36:10), *سَوَاءٌ شَاءُوا أَوْ أَبَوْا* 'It does not matter whether they want or do not want', *نُخْرِجُكَ كَاذِبًا كُنْتَ أَوْ صَادِقًا* 'We shall drive you away, whether you are a liar or speak the truth'.

c) As disjunctive particles, *in* and *immā* (§332) may also join alternative elements of the sentences: *قَدْ قِيلَ مَا قِيلَ إِنْ صِدْقًا وَإِنْ كَذِبًا* 'What is said is said, be it truth or be it falsehood', *وَأُخْرُونَ مُرْجُونَ لِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِمَّا يُعَذِّبُهُمْ وَإِمَّا يَتُوبُ عَلَيْهِمْ* 'And others are deferred to God's commandment, whether He chastises them, or turns toward them' (Koran 9:106).

Sentences with Conditional Implication

§460. In sentences in which the relationship of the protasis and the apodosis constitutes a generally valid condition (§445), the verb as a rule, according to §446, is in the jussive or perfect, regardless of what formal structure they have. Thus, it can be said also for clauses expressing commands, questions, or wishes that if the apodosis follows them, their verb will be in the jussive

(cf. §412): *عِشْ قَنَبَا تَكُنْ مَلِكًا* 'Live with contentment, and you will be a king', *هَلْ لَكُمْ بِسَيِّدِ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ تُحِبُّوْا* 'Do you wish to go to the leader of the Syrians? Then you will be given gifts' (cf. §296.3), *لَيْتَ لِي مَالًا أَنْفِقُ مِنْهُ* 'If only I had wealth, then I could spend it!'.

§461. a) Relative particles (§289) often begin generalizing sentences with conditional implication: *mā* 'whatever (else)', *man* 'whoever', etc. In the protasis and the apodosis, the verb is always in the jussive or perfect: *مَا أَنْسَ لَا أَنْسَ وَجْهَكَ* 'Whatever else I forget, I shall not forget your face' (§450.2), *أَيُّمَا شِئْتُمْ فَبَايَعُوا* 'Whichever of those two you wish to, pay homage to him!' (§447 a), *مَنْ نَامَ عَنْ حَقِّهِ لَمْ أَتَمِّ* 'If anyone overlooks what is due him, I shall not overlook it' (§449), *مَتَى تَسْأَلْنِي عَنْ شَرِّ النَّاسِ أَقُلْ* 'If (when-ever) you ask me about the most evil of mankind, I would say ...'.

Note 1. After *haythu* (§441), the conditional implication is expressed by the perfect: *لِيَذْهَبَ حَيْثُ أَحَبَّ* 'May he go wherever he desires!'.

Note 2. On rare occasion, *in* may be used as an indication of conditional implication with relatives: *إِنْ مَنْ* 'If anyone'.

b) In constructions with conditional implication, the relative may often appear with generalizing *mā* (§290): *مَهْمَا تَأْتَيْنَا بِهِ مِنْ آيَةٍ لِنَسْحَرَنَّا بِهَا فَمَا نَحْنُ لَكَ بِمُؤْمِنِينَ* 'Whatever miraculous sign you might bring to enchant us with, we will not believe you' (Koran 7:132), *أَيْنَمَا أَتَوْجَهَ أَلْقَى سَعْدًا* 'Wherever I go, I meet Sa'd'.

Note 3. In constructions with other particles, *mā* also has a generalizing function: *haythu-mā* 'wherever' (§441). The imperfect may also come after seldom-used *idh-mā* 'then whenever' (§442).

§462. *مَا* 'while', occasionally also 'as often as', is followed as a rule by the perfect: *أَلْهَمَّ مَا دَعَوْتُهُ أَجَابَ* 'Anxiety answers as often as you call it'. The structure of the main clause is arbitrary: *مَا أَنْتَى بَكَاءُكُمْ مَا مَشَيْتُ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ* 'I shall not forget your crying as long as I walk on the earth', *أَغْصُ ظَرْفِي مَا بَدَتْ لِي جَارَتِي* 'I lower my eyes while my neighbor (fem.) appears before me'.

Note 1. Sometimes, *mahmā* (§290) may be used in this function: مَهْمَا تَصْلُحْ مَهْمَا نَظَرَ شَيْئًا 'As long as you do good, we shall not dismiss you', فَلَنْ نَعْرَكَ مَهْمَا نَظَرَ شَيْئًا 'Whenever he looks at any of the things in existence, he recognizes the mercy of their creator'.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, this use of *mā* is clarified by the addition of دَامَ 'last, continue'. After مَا دَامَ 'as long as', the predicate follows as a predicate circumstantial clause or as a circumstantial accusative (§§382 b; 432).

§463. كُلَّمَا 'every time that, whenever, as often as' as a rule occurs with the perfect: كُلَّمَا جَاءَ أُمَّةٌ رَسُولُهَا كَذَّبُوهُ 'Whenever its messenger came to a nation, they called him a liar' (Koran 23:44). When the elative follows (§§124 ff.), *kulla-mā* with the appropriate apodosis corresponds to the use of 'the more ... the more': كَلَّمَا كَانَ الْخَبَرُ أَغْرَبَ كَانُوا بِهِ أَشَدَّ عَجَبًا 'The more strange the news was, the more they were astounded by it', كَانْ كَلَّمَا أَكْثَرَ كَانَ أَجْوَدَ كَلَامًا 'The more he spoke, the better he got' (§446 b).

§464. a) إِذَا 'then when, if' begins temporal adverbial clauses (cf. §442) with conditional implication. The always possible stated fact may occur once ('as soon as') or several times ('as often as'). As a rule, the perfect appears in the protasis, while the structure of the apodosis is free. When the statement is conceived of as generally valid, the perfect may also occur in the apodosis rather than the imperfect: إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا ذُكِرَ اللَّهُ وَجِلَتْ قُلُوبُهُم 'The believers are only those whose hearts are filled with fear whenever God is mentioned' (Koran 8:2); إِذَا فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ رَأَيْنَا رَأَيْنَا 'As soon as he does this, we will form our opinion', إِذَا شِئْتُمْ فَأَعْظُوهُمْ مَا يَرِيدُونَ 'If you wish, give them what they desire' (§447a). In pre-classical Arabic, the subject frequently comes immediately after the conjunction: إِذَا الْكَوَاكِبُ اتَّشَتَّرَتْ 'When the stars are scattered' (Koran 82:2).

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect, and rarely the jussive, may appear in the protasis: إِذَا الْكَرِيمُ يَغْضَبُ 'As soon as the noble one is irritated, he becomes angry'.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *ʿidhā* is sometimes used without conditional implication. *ʿidhā* then has the sense of *ʿidh*. In classical Arabic, *ʿidhā* coming after *hattā* also has the same meaning. See §440.

b) *kāna* is regularly used before the conjunction (§446 b) to indicate the past tense: *كُنْتُ إِذَا أَشْتَكَيْتُ رَحِمَنِي* 'Whenever I complained, he showed me compassion'. It may happen that *kāna*, when it comes first, agrees with the subject of the apodosis: *كُنْتُ إِذَا قَوْمٌ غَرَوْنِي غَرَوْتُهُمْ* 'When people attacked me, I attacked them'. This is the rule when the imperfect follows in the apodosis (§192): *كَانَتْ الْعَجُوزُ إِذَا كَلَّمَهَا تَسْكُتُ عَنْهُ* 'The old woman used to be silent before him whenever he spoke to her'.

§465. *إِذَا مَا* 'when, while' is treated like *ʿidhā* and occurs instead of *ʿidhā*, if the events described in the protasis and apodosis occur simultaneously: *إِذَا مَا رَحَنَ بَمَشِيْنِ الْهُوَيْنَى* 'When they (fem.) go away, they walk at a leisurely pace', *قُلْتُ لَهُ أَنْ تَحُلْ إِذَا مَا النُّجُومُ أُغْرَضَتْ* 'I said to him, leave, while the stars are out!', *لَا يَأْبُ الشَّهَدَاءُ إِذَا مَا دُعُوا* 'The witnesses should not refuse, when they are called'.

Paradigms

1. Nouns with Pronominal Suffixes

Masculine				Feminine		
Singular	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	سَارِقِي	سَارِقِي	سَارِقِي	سَارِقِي	سَارِقِي	سَارِقِي
2. m.	سَارِقَكَ	سَارِقَكَ	سَارِقَكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ
2. f.	سَارِقُكَ	سَارِقِكَ	سَارِقُكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ	سَارِقَتِكَ
3. m.	سَارِقُهُ	سَارِقِهِ	سَارِقُهُ	سَارِقَتُهُ	سَارِقَتِهِ	سَارِقَتُهُ
3. f.	سَارِقُهَا	سَارِقِهَا	سَارِقُهَا	سَارِقَتُهَا	سَارِقَتِهَا	سَارِقَتُهَا
<i>Du. 2.</i>	سَارِقُكُمَا	سَارِقِكُمَا	سَارِقُكُمَا	سَارِقَتُكُمَا	سَارِقَتِكُمَا	سَارِقَتُكُمَا
3.	سَارِقُهُمَا	سَارِقِهُمَا	سَارِقُهُمَا	سَارِقَتُهُمَا	سَارِقَتِهُمَا	سَارِقَتُهُمَا
<i>Pl. 1.</i>	سَارِقُنَا	سَارِقِنَا	سَارِقُنَا	سَارِقَتُنَا	سَارِقَتِنَا	سَارِقَتُنَا
2. m.	سَارِقُكُمْ	سَارِقِكُمْ	سَارِقُكُمْ	سَارِقَتُكُمْ	سَارِقَتِكُمْ	سَارِقَتُكُمْ
2. f.	سَارِقُكُنَّ	سَارِقِكُنَّ	سَارِقُكُنَّ	سَارِقَتُكُنَّ	سَارِقَتِكُنَّ	سَارِقَتُكُنَّ
3. m.	سَارِقَهُمْ	سَارِقِهِمْ	سَارِقَهُمْ	سَارِقَتَهُمْ	سَارِقَتِهِمْ	سَارِقَتَهُمْ
3. f.	سَارِقُهُنَّ	سَارِقِهُنَّ	سَارِقُهُنَّ	سَارِقَتُهُنَّ	سَارِقَتِهُنَّ	سَارِقَتُهُنَّ
<i>Dual</i>	Nom.		Obl.	Nom.		Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	سَارِقَايَ		سَارِقَيَّ	سَارِقَتَايَ		سَارِقَتَيَّ
2. m.	سَارِقَاكَ		سَارِقَتَيْكَ	سَارِقَتَاكَ		سَارِقَتَيْكَ
3. m.	سَارِقَاهُ		سَارِقَتَيْهِ	سَارِقَتَاهُ		سَارِقَتَيْهِ
<i>Plural</i>	Nom.		Obl.	Nom.		Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	سَارِقِي		سَارِقِي	سَارِقَاتِي		سَارِقَاتِي
2. m.	سَارِقُوكَ		سَارِقِيكَ	سَارِقَاتِكَ		سَارِقَاتِكَ
3. m.	سَارِقُوهُ		سَارِقِيهِ	سَارِقَاتُهُ		سَارِقَاتِهِ

2. Nouns Ending in -ā

	Sg.	Du. Nom.	Obl.	Pl. Nom.	Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	مُلْقَايَ	مُلْقَيَايَ	مُلْقَيَّيَ	مُلْقَيَّيَ	مُلْقَيَّيَ
<i>2. m.</i>	مُلْقَاكَ	مُلْقَيَاكَ	مُلْقَيَّيْكَ	مُلْقَوَاكَ	مُلْقَيَّيْكَ
<i>3. m.</i>	مُلْقَاهُ	مُلْقَيَاهُ	مُلْقَيَّيْهِ	مُلْقَوُهُ	مُلْقَيَّيْهِ

3. Nouns Ending in -ī

	Sg. Nom./Gen.	Acc.	Du. Nom.	Obl.	Pl. Nom.	Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	دَاعِيَّ	دَاعِيَّ	دَاعِيَّيَايَ	دَاعِيَّيَ	دَاعِيَّيَ	دَاعِيَّيَ
<i>2. m.</i>	دَاعِيْكَ	دَاعِيْكَ	دَاعِيَّيَاكَ	دَاعِيَّيْكَ	دَاعُوْكَ	دَاعِيَّيْكَ
<i>2. f.</i>	دَاعِيْهِ	دَاعِيْهِ	دَاعِيَّيَاهُ	دَاعِيَّيْهِ	دَاعُوْهُ	دَاعِيَّيْهِ

4. Basic Stem of the 3-Radical Verb (Active)

	Perf. (a)	Imperf. (a)	Subj.	Juss.	Energ. I	Energ. II
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلَ	يُفَعِّلُ	يَفْعَلْ	يُفَعِّلْ	يُفَعِّلَنَّ	يُفَعِّلَنَّ
<i>3. f.</i>	فَعَلَتْ	تُفَعِّلُ	تَفْعَلْ	تُفَعِّلْ	تُفَعِّلَنَّ	تُفَعِّلَنَّ
<i>2. m.</i>	فَعَلْتَ	تُفَعِّلُ	تَفْعَلْ	تُفَعِّلْ	تُفَعِّلَنَّ	تُفَعِّلَنَّ
<i>2. f.</i>	فَعَلْتِ	تُفَعِّلِينَ	تَفْعَلِي	تُفَعِّلِي	تُفَعِّلِينَ	تُفَعِّلِينَ
<i>1.</i>	فَعَلْتُ	أُفَعِّلُ	أَفْعَلْ	أُفَعِّلْ	أُفَعِّلَنَّ	أُفَعِّلَنَّ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلَا	يُفَعِّلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	يُفَعِّلَا	يُفَعِّلَانَّ	
<i>3. f.</i>	فَعَلْتَا	تُفَعِّلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تُفَعِّلَا	تُفَعِّلَانَّ	
<i>2.</i>	فَعَلْتَا	تُفَعِّلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تُفَعِّلَا	تُفَعِّلَانَّ	
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلُوا	يُفَعِّلُونَ	يَفْعَلُوا	يُفَعِّلُوا	يُفَعِّلُونَ	يُفَعِّلُونَ
<i>3. f.</i>	فَعَلْنَ	يُفَعِّلْنَ	يَفْعَلْنَ	يُفَعِّلْنَ	يُفَعِّلْنَ	يُفَعِّلْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	فَعَلْتُمْ	تُفَعِّلُونَ	تَفْعَلُوا	تُفَعِّلُوا	تُفَعِّلُونَ	تُفَعِّلُونَ
<i>2. f.</i>	فَعَلْتُنَّ	تُفَعِّلْنَ	تَفْعَلْنَ	تُفَعِّلْنَ	تُفَعِّلْنَ	تُفَعِّلْنَ
<i>1.</i>	فَعَلْنَا	نُفَعِّلُ	نَفْعَلْ	نُفَعِّلْ	نُفَعِّلَنَّ	نُفَعِّلَنَّ

Imperative				
<i>Sg. m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>Du.</i>	<i>Pl. m.</i>	<i>f.</i>
(a) اِفْعَلْ	اِفْعَلِي	اِفْعَلَا	اِفْعَلُوا	اِفْعَلْنَ
(i) اِفْعِلْ	اِفْعِلِي	اِفْعِلَا	اِفْعِلُوا	اِفْعِلْنَ
(u) اِفْعُلْ	اِفْعُلِي	اِفْعُلَا	اِفْعُلُوا	اِفْعُلْنَ
Active Participle				
<i>Sg. m.</i>	<i>Pl. m.</i>	<i>Sg. f.</i>	<i>Pl. f.</i>	
فَاعِلٌ	فَاعِلُونَ	فَاعِلَةٌ	فَاعِلَاتٌ	

5. Basic Stem of the 3-Radical Verb (Passive)

	Perf.	Imperf.	Subj.	Juss.	Energ. I.
<i>Sg. m.</i>	فُعِلَ	يُفْعَلُ	يُفْعَلْ	يُفْعَلْ	يُفْعَلَنَّ
<i>3. f.</i>	فُعِلَتْ	تُفْعَلُ	تُفْعَلْ	تُفْعَلْ	تُفْعَلَنَّ
<i>2. m.</i>	فُعِلْتَ	تُفْعَلُ	تُفْعَلْ	تُفْعَلْ	تُفْعَلَنَّ
<i>2. f.</i>	فُعِلْتِ	تُفْعَلِينَ	تُفْعَلِي	تُفْعَلِي	تُفْعَلِينَ
<i>1.</i>	فُعِلْتُ	أُفْعَلُ	أُفْعَلْ	أُفْعَلْ	أُفْعَلَنَّ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	فُعِلَا	يُفْعَلَانِ	يُفْعَلَا	يُفْعَلَا	يُفْعَلَانَّ
<i>3. f.</i>	فُعِلْتَا	تُفْعَلَانِ	تُفْعَلَا	تُفْعَلَا	تُفْعَلَانَّ
<i>2.</i>	فُعِلْتُمَا	تُفْعَلَانِ	تُفْعَلَا	تُفْعَلَا	تُفْعَلَانَّ
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	فُعِلُوا	يُفْعَلُونَ	يُفْعَلُوا	يُفْعَلُوا	يُفْعَلُونَ
<i>3. f.</i>	فُعِلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	فُعِلْتُمْ	تُفْعَلُونَ	تُفْعَلُوا	تُفْعَلُوا	تُفْعَلُونَ
<i>2. f.</i>	فُعِلْتُنَّ	تُفْعَلْنَ	تُفْعَلْنَ	تُفْعَلْنَ	تُفْعَلْنَ
<i>1.</i>	فُعِلْنَا	نُفْعَلُ	نُفْعَلْ	نُفْعَلْ	نُفْعَلَنَّ
Passive Participle					
<i>Sg. m.</i>	<i>Pl. m.</i>	<i>Sg. f.</i>	<i>Pl. f.</i>		
مَفْعُولٌ	مَفْعُولُونَ	مَفْعُولَةٌ	مَفْعُولَاتٌ		

6. 3-Radical Derived Verbs

	Basic stem (I)			Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf. act.	فَعَلَ	فَعِلَ	فَعُلَ	فَعَّلَ	فَاعَلَ	أَفْعَلَ
Perf. pass.		فَعِلَ		فُعِّلَ	فُوِعِلَ	أُفْعِلَ
Imperf. act.	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعِلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُّ	يُفَاعِلُ	يُفْعِلُ
Imperf. pass.		يَفْعِلُ		يَفْعَلُّ	يُفَاعَلُ	يُفْعَلُ
Juss. act.	يَفْعَلْ	يَفْعِلْ	يَفْعُلْ	يَفْعَلِّ	يُفَاعِلْ	يُفْعِلْ
Juss. pass.		يَفْعِلْ		يَفْعَلِّ	يُفَاعَلْ	يُفْعَلْ
Imper.	افْعَلْ	افْعِلْ	افْعُلْ	فَعِّلْ	فاعِلْ	أفْعِلْ
Act. part.		فاعِلٌ		مُفَعِّلٌ	مُفاعِلٌ	مُفْعِلٌ
Pass. part.		مَمْعُولٌ		مُفَعَّلٌ	مُفاعَلٌ	مُفْعَلٌ
Verbal subst.		فَعْلٌ		تَفْعِيلٌ	فِعَالٌ	إِفْعَالٌ

	Form V	Form VI	Form VII	Form VIII	Form X
Perf. act.	تَفَعَّلَ	تَفَاعَلَ	إِنْفَعَلَ	إِفْتَعَلَ	إِسْتَفْعَلَ
Perf. pass.	تُفَعَّلَ	تُفَوِّعَلُ	أُنْفَعِلَ	أُفْتَعِلَ	أُسْتَفْعِلَ
Imperf. act.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُنْفَعِلُ	يُفْتَعِلُ	يُسْتَفْعِلُ
Imperf. pass.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُنْفَعِلُ	يُفْتَعِلُ	يُسْتَفْعِلُ
Juss. act.	يَتَفَعَّلْ	يَتَفَاعَلْ	يُنْفَعِلْ	يُفْتَعِلْ	يُسْتَفْعِلْ
Juss. pass.	يَتَفَعَّلْ	يَتَفَاعَلْ	يُنْفَعِلْ	يُفْتَعِلْ	يُسْتَفْعِلْ
Imper.	تَفَعَّلْ	تَفَاعَلْ	إِنْفَعِلْ	إِفْتَعِلْ	إِسْتَفْعِلْ
Act. part.	مُتَفَعِّلٌ	مُتَفَاعِلٌ	مُنْفَعِلٌ	مُفْتَعِلٌ	مُسْتَفْعِلٌ
Pass. part.	مُتَفَعَّلٌ	مُتَفَاعَلٌ	مُنْفَعَلٌ	مُفْتَعَلٌ	مُسْتَفْعَلٌ
Verb. subst.	تَفَعُّلٌ	تَفَاعُلٌ	إِنْفِعَالٌ	إِفْتِعَالٌ	إِسْتِفْعَالٌ

	IX Form			XI Form		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	إِفْعَلٌ	يُفْعَلُ	يُفْعَلْ / يُفْعَلْ / يُفْعَلْ	إِفْعَالٌ	يُفْعَالُ	يُفْعَالِ / يُفْعَالُ / يُفْعَالُ
<i>3. f.</i>	إِفْعَلَتْ	تُفْعَلُ	تُفْعَلِ / تُفْعَلْ / تُفْعَلْ	إِفْعَالَتْ	تُفْعَالُ	تُفْعَالِ / تُفْعَالُ / تُفْعَالُ
<i>2. m.</i>	إِفْعَلْت	تُفْعَلُ	تُفْعَلِ / تُفْعَلْ / تُفْعَلْ	إِفْعَالْت	تُفْعَالُ	تُفْعَالِ / تُفْعَالُ / تُفْعَالُ
<i>2. f.</i>	إِفْعَلْتِ	تُفْعَلِينَ	تُفْعَلِي	إِفْعَالْتِ	تُفْعَالِينَ	تُفْعَالِي
<i>1.</i>	إِفْعَلْتُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلِ / أَفْعَلْ / أَفْعَلْ	إِفْعَالْتُ	أَفْعَالُ	أَفْعَالِ / أَفْعَالُ / أَفْعَالُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	إِفْعَلَا	يُفْعَلَانِ	يُفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالَا	يُفْعَالَانِ	يُفْعَالَا
<i>3. f.</i>	إِفْعَلْتَا	تُفْعَلَانِ	تُفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالْتَا	تُفْعَالَانِ	تُفْعَالَا
<i>2.</i>	إِفْعَلْتُمَا	تُفْعَلَانِ	تُفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالْتُمَا	تُفْعَالَانِ	تُفْعَالَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	إِفْعَلُوا	يُفْعَلُونَ	يُفْعَلُوا	إِفْعَالُوا	يُفْعَالُونَ	يُفْعَالُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	إِفْعَلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ	يُفْعَلْنَ	إِفْعَالْنَ	يُفْعَالْنَ	يُفْعَالْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	إِفْعَلْتُمْ	تُفْعَلُونَ	تُفْعَلُوا	إِفْعَالْتُمْ	تُفْعَالُونَ	تُفْعَالُوا
<i>2. f.</i>	إِفْعَلْتُنَّ	تُفْعَلِينَ	تُفْعَلْنَ	إِفْعَالْتُنَّ	تُفْعَالِينَ	تُفْعَالْنَ
<i>1.</i>	إِفْعَلْنَا	نُفْعَلُ	نُفْعَلِ / نُفْعَلْ / نُفْعَلْ	إِفْعَالْنَا	نُفْعَالُ	نُفْعَالِ / نُفْعَالُ / نُفْعَالُ
Imperative <i>sg. m.</i> اِفْعَلْ / اِفْعَلْ / اِفْعَلْ <i>f.</i> اِفْعَلِي				<i>Sg. m.</i> اِفْعَالِ / اِفْعَالُ / اِفْعَالُ		
Participle <i>sg. m.</i> مُفْعَلٌ <i>f.</i> مُفْعَلَةٌ				<i>Sg. m.</i> مُفْعَالٌ <i>f.</i> مُفْعَالَةٌ		
Verbal subst. اِفْعَالٌ				اِفْعِيَالٌ		

	XII Form	XIII Form	XIV Form	XV Form
Perf.	اِفْعَوْعَلْ	اِفْعَوَّلْ	اِفْعَنْعَلْ	اِفْعَنْعَلْ
Imperf.	يُفْعَوْعَلْ	يُفْعَوَّلْ	يُفْعَنْعَلْ	يُفْعَنْعَلْ
Juss.	يُفْعَوْعَلْ	يُفْعَوَّلْ	يُفْعَنْعَلْ	يُفْعَنْعَلْ
Act. part.	مُفْعَوْعَلٌ	مُفْعَوَّلٌ	مُفْعَنْعَلٌ	مُفْعَنْعَلٌ
Verbal subst.	اِفْعِيْعَالٌ	اِفْعِيْوَالٌ	اِفْعِيْنَالٌ	اِفْعِيْنَالَةٌ

7. II-Geminate Verbs

Basic Stem (I)						
	Active			Passive		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	رَدَّ	يُرَدُّ	يُرَدُّ/يُرَدِّ/يُرَدِّ	رَدَّ	يُرَدُّ	يُرَدُّ/يُرَدِّ/يُرَدِّ
<i>3. f.</i>	رَدَّتْ	تُرَدُّ	تُرَدُّ/تُرَدِّ/تُرَدِّ	رَدَّتْ	تُرَدُّ	تُرَدُّ/تُرَدِّ/تُرَدِّ
<i>2. m.</i>	رَدَدْتَ	تُرَدُّ	تُرَدُّ/تُرَدِّ/تُرَدِّ	رَدَدْتَ	تُرَدُّ	تُرَدُّ/تُرَدِّ/تُرَدِّ
<i>2. f.</i>	رَدَدْتَ	تُرَدِّينَ	تُرَدِّينَ	رَدَدْتَ	تُرَدِّينَ	تُرَدِّينَ
<i>1.</i>	رَدَدْتُ	أُرَدُّ	أُرَدُّ/أُرَدِّ/أُرَدِّ	رَدَدْتُ	أُرَدُّ	أُرَدُّ/أُرَدِّ/أُرَدِّ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	رَدَّا	يُرَدَّانِ	يُرَدَّانِ	رَدَّا	يُرَدَّانِ	يُرَدَّانِ
<i>3. f.</i>	رَدَّتَا	تُرَدَّانِ	تُرَدَّانِ	رَدَّتَا	تُرَدَّانِ	تُرَدَّانِ
<i>2.</i>	رَدَدْتُمَا	تُرَدَّانِ	تُرَدَّانِ	رَدَدْتُمَا	تُرَدَّانِ	تُرَدَّانِ
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	رَدُّوا	يُرَدُّونَ	يُرَدُّونَ	رَدُّوا	يُرَدُّونَ	يُرَدُّونَ
<i>3. f.</i>	رَدَدْنَ	يُرَدُّونَ	يُرَدُّونَ	رَدَدْنَ	يُرَدُّونَ	يُرَدُّونَ
<i>2. m.</i>	رَدَدْتُمْ	تُرَدُّونَ	تُرَدُّونَ	رَدَدْتُمْ	تُرَدُّونَ	تُرَدُّونَ
<i>2. f.</i>	رَدَدْتُنَّ	تُرَدُّونَ	تُرَدُّونَ	رَدَدْتُنَّ	تُرَدُّونَ	تُرَدُّونَ
<i>1.</i>	رَدَدْنَا	نُرَدُّ	نُرَدُّ/نُرَدِّ/نُرَدِّ	رَدَدْنَا	نُرَدُّ	نُرَدُّ/نُرَدِّ/نُرَدِّ
Imperative <i>Sg. m.</i> اُرَدِّ/اُرَدِّ/اُرَدِّ <i>f.</i> اُرَدِّ <i>Du. 3. m.</i> رَدَّا <i>Pl. m.</i> رَدُّوا <i>f.</i> اُرَدُّونَ						
Act. part. <i>Sg. m.</i> رَادٌّ <i>f.</i> رَادَّةٌ Pass. part. <i>Sg. m.</i> مَرْدُودٌ <i>f.</i> مَرْدُودَةٌ						
Form II						
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Imperat.	Part.	Verb. Subst.
Active	رَدَّدَ	يُرَدِّدُ	يُرَدِّدُ	رَدَّدْ	مُرَدِّدٌ	تُرَدِّدُ
Passive	رَدِّدَ	يُرَدِّدُ	يُرَدِّدُ		مُرَدِّدٌ	
Form V						
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Imperat.	Part.	Verb. Subst.
Active	تَرَدَّدَ	يَتَرَدَّدُ	يَتَرَدَّدُ	تَرَدَّدْ	مُتَرَدِّدٌ	تُرَدِّدُ
Passive	تُرَدِّدَ	يَتَرَدَّدُ	يَتَرَدَّدُ		مُتَرَدِّدٌ	

	Form IV	Form III	Form VI	Form VII	Form VIII	Form X
Perf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	أَرَدَ	زَادَ	تَرَادَ	إِنْرَدَ	إِزْتَدَّ	إِشْتَرَدَّ
2. m.	أَرَدْتَ	زَادْتَ	تَرَادْتَ	إِنْرَدْتَ	إِزْتَدَدْتَ	إِشْتَرَدَدْتَ
Perf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	أُرِدَ	رُوِدَ	تُرُوِدَ	أُنْرِدَ	أُرْتَدَّ	أُشْتَرِدَّ
2. m.	أُرِدْتَ	رُوِدْتَ	تُرُوِدْتَ	أُنْرِدْتَ	أُرْتَدَدْتَ	أُشْتَرِدَدْتَ
Imperf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدُ	يُرَادُ	يَتَرَادُ	يُنْرَدُ	يُرْتَدُّ	يُشْتَرِدُّ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُونَ	يُرَادُونَ	يَتَرَادُونَ	يُنْرَدُونَ	يُرْتَدُّونَ	يُشْتَرِدُّونَ
3. f.	يُرِدْنَ	يُرَادْنَ	يَتَرَادْنَ	يُنْرَدْنَ	يُرْتَدِّنَ	يُشْتَرِدْنَ
Imperf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدُّ	يُرَادُّ	يَتَرَادُّ	يُنْرَدُّ	يُرْتَدُّ	يُشْتَرَدُّ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُّونَ	يُرَادُّونَ	يَتَرَادُّونَ	يُنْرَدُّونَ	يُرْتَدُّونَ	يُشْتَرَدُّونَ
3. f.	يُرِدْنَ	يُرَادْنَ	يَتَرَادْنَ	يُنْرَدْنَ	يُرْتَدِّنَ	يُشْتَرَدِّنَ
Juss. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْ / يُرَدْ / يُرِدْ	يُرَادْ / يُرَادْ / يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْ / يَتَرَادْ / يَتَرَادْ	يُنْرَدْ / يُنْرَدْ / يُنْرَدْ	يُرْتَدْ / يُرْتَدْ / يُرْتَدْ	يُشْتَرَدْ / يُشْتَرَدْ / يُشْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُوا	يُرَادُوا	يَتَرَادُوا	يُنْرَدُوا	يُرْتَدُّوا	يُشْتَرَدُّوا
3. f.	يُرِدْنَ	يُرَادْنَ	يَتَرَادْنَ	يُنْرَدْنَ	يُرْتَدِّنَ	يُشْتَرَدِّنَ
Juss. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْ / يُرَدْ / يُرِدْ	يُرَادْ / يُرَادْ / يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْ / يَتَرَادْ / يَتَرَادْ	يُنْرَدْ / يُنْرَدْ / يُنْرَدْ	يُرْتَدْ / يُرْتَدْ / يُرْتَدْ	يُشْتَرَدْ / يُشْتَرَدْ / يُشْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُوا	يُرَادُوا	يَتَرَادُوا	يُنْرَدُوا	يُرْتَدُّوا	يُشْتَرَدُّوا
3. f.	يُرِدْنَ	يُرَادْنَ	يَتَرَادْنَ	يُنْرَدْنَ	يُرْتَدِّنَ	يُشْتَرَدِّنَ
Imperat. Sg. m.	أَرِدْ / أَرِدْ / أَرِدْ	رَادْ / رَادْ / رَادْ	تَرَادْ / تَرَادْ / تَرَادْ	إِنْرَدْ / إِنْرَدْ / إِنْرَدْ	إِزْتَدْ / إِزْتَدْ / إِزْتَدْ	إِشْتَرَدْ / إِشْتَرَدْ / إِشْتَرَدْ
f.	أَرِدِي	رَادِي	تَرَادِي	إِنْرَدِي	إِزْتَدِي	إِشْتَرَدِي
Part. act.	مُرِدٌ	مُرَادٌ	مُتَرَادٌ	مُنْرَدٌ	مُرْتَدٌّ	مُشْتَرِدٌّ
Part. pass.	مُرِدٌ	مُرَادٌ	مُتَرَادٌ	مُنْرَدٌ	مُرْتَدٌّ	مُشْتَرِدٌّ
Verb. subst.	إِرْدَاؤٌ	رِدَاؤٌ	تِرَادٌ	إِنْرِدَاؤٌ	إِرْتِدَاؤٌ	إِشْتِرِدَاؤٌ

8. I-hamzah and I-Weak Verbs

	I- Roots		I-w Roots		I-y Roots	
	Form I	Form IV	Form I	Form IV	Form I	Form IV
Perf. act.						
Sg. m.	أَتَر	أَتَر	وَصَلَ	أَوْصَلَ	يَتَر	أَيَّتَر
Perf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	أُتِر	أُوْتِر	وُصِلَ	أُوْصِلَ	يُتِر	أُوِيَر
Imperf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يَأْتِر	يُؤْتِر	يَصِلُ	يُوصِلُ	يَنْبِر	يُوبِر
1.	أَتِر	أُوْتِر	أَصِلُ	أُوْصِلُ	أَنْبِر	أُوِيَر
Imperf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُؤْتِر	يُؤْتِر	يُوصِلُ	يُوصِلُ	يُوتِر	يُوتِر
1.	أُوتِر	أُوتِر	أُوصِلُ	أُوصِلُ	أُوتِر	أُوتِر
Subj. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يَأْتِر	يُؤْتِر	يَصِلَ	يُوصِلَ	يَنْبِر	يُوبِر
1.	أَتِر	أُوْتِر	أَصِلَ	أُوْصِلَ	أَنْبِر	أُوِيَر
Subj. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُؤْتِر	يُؤْتِر	يُوصِلَ	يُوصِلَ	يُوتِر	يُوتِر
1.	أُوتِر	أُوتِر	أُوصِلَ	أُوصِلَ	أُوتِر	أُوتِر
Imperat. sg.	أَتِرْ / إِيْتِرْ	أَتِرْ	صِلْ	أَوْصِلْ	إِيْبِرْ	أَيِّيْبِرْ
Part. act.	أَتِرْ	مُؤْتِرْ	وَاصِلْ	مُوصِلْ	يَاتِرْ	مُؤِيْرْ
Verb. subst.	أَتِرْ	إِيْتَارْ	صِلَّةٌ	إِيْصَالٌ	يَنْتِرْ	إِيْسَارٌ

	I- Roots		I-w Roots	
	VIII Form		VIII Form	
	Act.	Pass.	Act.	Pass.
Perf. Sg. 3. m.	أَتَتَر / إِيْتَتَر	أُؤْتِرْ / أُوْتِرْ	إِئْصَلَ	أُئْصَلَ
Imperf. Sg. 3. m.	يَأْتَتِرْ	يُؤْتَتِرْ	يَتَّصِلُ	يُتَّصِلُ
1.	أَتَتِرْ	أُوتَتِرْ	أَتَّصِلُ	أُتَّصِلُ
Subj. Sg. 3. m.	يَأْتَتِرْ	يُؤْتَتِرْ	يَتَّصِلُ	يُتَّصِلُ
1.	أَتَتِرْ	أُوتَتِرْ	أَتَّصِلُ	أُتَّصِلُ
Imperat. Sg.	أَتَتِرْ / إِيْتَتِرْ		إِئْصَلْ	
Part.	مُؤْتَتِرْ	مُؤْتَتِرْ	مُؤْتَصِّلْ	مُؤْتَصِّلْ
Verb. subst.	أَتَتَارْ / إِيْتَتَارْ		إِئْصَالٌ	

9. The Verb رَأَى 'see'

Active

	Form I			Form IV			
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	رَأَى	يَرِي	يَر	أَرَى	يُرِي	يُر	
<i>3. f.</i>	رَأَتْ	تَرِي	تَر	أَرَتْ	تُرِي	تُر	
<i>2. m.</i>	رَأَيْتَ	تَرِي	تَر	أَرَيْتَ	تُرِي	تُر	
<i>2. f.</i>	رَأَيْتِ	تَرِينَ	تَرِي	أَرَيْتِ	تُرِينَ	تُرِي	
<i>1.</i>	رَأَيْتُ	أَرَى	أَر	أَرَيْتُ	أُرِي	أُر	
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	رَأَيَا	يَرِيَانِ	يَرِيَا	أَرَيَا	يُرِيَانِ	يُرِيَا	
<i>3. f.</i>	رَأَيَا	تَرِيَانِ	تَرِيَا	أَرَيَا	تُرِيَانِ	تُرِيَا	
<i>2.</i>	رَأَيْتُمَا	تَرِيَانِ	تَرِيَا	أَرَيْتُمَا	تُرِيَانِ	تُرِيَا	
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	رَأَوْا	يَرُونَ	يَرُوا	أَرَوْا	يُرُونَ	يُرُوا	
<i>3. f.</i>	رَأَيْنَ	يَرِينَ	يَرِينَ	أَرَيْنَ	يُرِينَ	يُرِينَ	
<i>2. m.</i>	رَأَيْتُمْ	تَرُونَ	تَرُوا	أَرَيْتُمْ	تُرُونَ	تُرُوا	
<i>2. f.</i>	رَأَيْتُنَّ	تَرِينَ	تَرِينَ	أَرَيْتُنَّ	تُرِينَ	تُرِينَ	
<i>1.</i>	رَأَيْنَا	تَرِي	تَر	أَرَيْنَا	تُرِي	تُر	
Imperative <i>Sg. m.</i> رَهْ			<i>Pl. m.</i> رُوا	<i>Sg. m.</i> أَر			<i>Pl. m.</i> أَرُوا
<i>Du.</i> رِيَا				<i>Du.</i> أَرِيَا			
<i>f.</i> رِي			<i>f.</i> رِينَ	<i>f.</i> أَرِي			<i>f.</i> أَرِينَ

Passive

	Form I Perf.	Form IV Perf.	Form I & IV Imperf.	Form I & IV Juss.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	رُئِيَ	أُرِي	يُرَى	يُر
<i>3. f.</i>	رُئِيتْ	أُرِيتْ	تُرَى	تُر
<i>2. f.</i>	رُئِيتِ	أُرِيتِ	تُرِينَ	تُرِي
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	رُئِيَا	أُرِيَا	تُرِيَانِ	تُرِيَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	رُئُوا	أُرُوا	يُرُونَ	يُرُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	رُئِينَ	أُرِينَ	يُرِينَ	يُرِينَ

10. II-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (I)				
	Perfect Active			Perf. Passive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	قَامَ	صَارَ	نَامَ	قِيمَ
<i>3. f.</i>	قَامَتْ	صَارَتْ	نَامَتْ	قِيمَتْ
<i>2. m.</i>	قُمْتَ	صِرْتَ	نِمْتَ	قِمْتَ
<i>2. f.</i>	قُمْتِ	صِرْتِ	نِمْتِ	قِمْتِ
<i>1.</i>	قُمْتُ	صِرْتُ	نِمْتُ	قِمْتُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	قَامَا	صَارَا	نَامَا	قِيمَا
<i>3. f.</i>	قَامَتَا	صَارَتَا	نَامَتَا	قِيمَتَا
<i>2.</i>	قُمْتُمَا	صِرْتُمَا	نِمْتُمَا	قِمْتُمَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	قَامُوا	صَارُوا	نَامُوا	قِيمُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	قُمْنَ	صِرْنَ	نِمْنَ	قِمْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	قُمْتُمْ	صِرْتُمْ	نِمْتُمْ	قِمْتُمْ
<i>2. f.</i>	قُمْتُنَّ	صِرْتُنَّ	نِمْتُنَّ	قِمْتُنَّ
<i>1.</i>	قُمْنَا	صِرْنَا	نِمْنَا	قِمْنَا
	Imperfect Active			Imperf. Passive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومُ	يَصِيرُ	يَنَامُ	يُقَامُ
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُومُ	تَصِيرُ	تَنَامُ	تُقَامُ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُومُ	تَصِيرُ	تَنَامُ	تُقَامُ
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُومِينَ	تَصِيرِينَ	تَنَامِينَ	تُقَامِينَ
<i>1.</i>	أَقُومُ	أَصِيرُ	أَنَامُ	أُقَامُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومَانِ	يَصِيرَانِ	يَنَامَانِ	يُقَامَانِ
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُومَانِ	تَصِيرَانِ	تَنَامَانِ	تُقَامَانِ
<i>2.</i>	تَقُومَانِ	تَصِيرَانِ	تَنَامَانِ	تُقَامَانِ
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومُونَ	يَصِيرُونَ	يَنَامُونَ	يُقَامُونَ
<i>3. f.</i>	يَقُومْنَ	يَصِيرْنَ	يَنَامْنَ	يُقَامْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُومُونَ	تَصِيرُونَ	تَنَامُونَ	تُقَامُونَ
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُومُنَّ	تَصِيرُنَّ	تَنَامُنَّ	تُقَامُنَّ
<i>1.</i>	نَقُومُ	نَصِيرُ	نَنَامُ	نُقَامُ

	Subjunctive Active			Subj. Passive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومَ	يُصِيرَ	يَنَامَ	يُقَامَ
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُومَ	تُصِيرَ	تَنَامَ	تُقَامَ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُومَا	تُصِيرَا	تَنَامَا	تُقَامَا
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُومِي	تُصِيرِي	تَنَامِي	تُقَامِي
<i>1.</i>	أَقُومَ	أُصِيرَ	أَنَامَ	أُقَامَ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومَا	يُصِيرَا	يَنَامَا	يُقَامَا
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُومَا	تُصِيرَا	تَنَامَا	تُقَامَا
<i>2.</i>	تَقُومَا	تُصِيرَا	تَنَامَا	تُقَامَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومُوا	يُصِيرُوا	يَنَامُوا	يُقَامُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	يَقُومْنَ	يُصِرْنَ	يَنَمْنَ	يُقَمْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُومُوا	تُصِيرُوا	تَنَامُوا	تُقَامُوا
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُومْنَ	تُصِرْنَ	تَنَمْنَ	تُقَمْنَ
<i>1.</i>	نَقُومَ	نُصِيرَ	نَنَامَ	نُقَامَ
	Jussive Active			Juss. Passive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يَقُمْ	يُصِرْ	يَنَمْ	يُقَمْ
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُمْ	تُصِرْ	تَنَمْ	تُقَمْ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُمَا	تُصِرَا	تَنَمَا	تُقَمَا
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُمِي	تُصِرِي	تَنَمِي	تُقَمِي
<i>1.</i>	أَقُمْ	أُصِرْ	أَنَمْ	أُقَمْ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومَا	يُصِيرَا	يَنَامَا	يُقَامَا
<i>3. f.</i>	تَقُومَا	تُصِيرَا	تَنَامَا	تُقَامَا
<i>2.</i>	تَقُومَا	تُصِيرَا	تَنَامَا	تُقَامَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يَقُومُوا	يُصِيرُوا	يَنَامُوا	يُقَامُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	يَقُومْنَ	يُصِرْنَ	يَنَمْنَ	يُقَمْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَقُومُوا	تُصِيرُوا	تَنَامُوا	تُقَامُوا
<i>2. f.</i>	تَقُومْنَ	تُصِرْنَ	تَنَمْنَ	تُقَمْنَ
<i>1.</i>	نَقُمْ	نُصِرْ	نَنَمْ	نُقَمْ

Imperative						
<i>Sg. m.</i>	قُمْ		صِرْ		تَمَّ	
<i>f.</i>	قُومِي		صِيرِي		تَامِي	
<i>Du.</i>	قُومَا		صِيرَا		تَامَا	
<i>Pl. m.</i>	قُومُوا		صِيرُوا		تَامُوا	
<i>f.</i>	قُمنَّ		صِرْنَ		تَمِنَّ	
	Active Participle			Passive Participle		
<i>Sg. m.</i>	قَائِمٌ	صَائِرٌ	تَائِمٌ	مَقُومٌ	مَصِيرٌ	مُتَمِّمٌ
<i>f.</i>	قَائِمَةٌ	صَائِرَةٌ	تَائِمَةٌ	مَقُومَةٌ	مَصِيرَةٌ	مُتَمِّمَةٌ

Form II						
	Active			Passive		
Perf.	قَوَّمَ	صَيَّرَ	نَوَّمَ	قُوِّمَ	صُيِّرَ	نُوِّمَ
Imperf.	يَقْوِمُ	يُصَيِّرُ	يُنَوِّمُ	يُقَوَّمُ	يُصَيَّرُ	يُنَوِّمُ
Juss.	يَقْوِمُ	يُصَيِّرُ	يُنَوِّمُ	يُقَوَّمُ	يُصَيَّرُ	يُنَوِّمُ
Imperat.	قَوِّم	صَيِّر	نَوِّم			
Part.	مُقَوِّمٌ	مُصَيِّرٌ	مُنَوِّمٌ	مُقَوَّمٌ	مُصَيَّرٌ	مُنَوِّمٌ
Verb. subst.	تَقْوِيْمٌ	تَصْيِيْرٌ	تَنْوِيْمٌ			

	Form III		Form V		Form VI	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
Perf.	قَاوَمَ	قُوِّوِمَ	تَقَوَّمَ	تُقَوَّمُ	تَقَاوَمَ	تُقَوِّوِمَ
	صَايَرَ	صُوِّوِرَ	نَصَيَّرَ	نُصَيَّرُ	نَصَايَرَ	نُصَوِّوِرَ
Imperf.	يَقَاوِمُ	يُقَاوِمُ	يَتَقَوَّمُ	يَتُقَوَّمُ	يَتَقَاوِمُ	يَتُقَوِّوِمُ
	يُصَايِرُ	يُصَايِرُ	يَنْصَيِّرُ	يَنْصَيَّرُ	يَنْصَايِرُ	يَنْصَوِّوِرُ
Juss.	يَقَاوِمُ	يُقَاوِمُ	يَتَقَوَّمُ	يَتُقَوَّمُ	يَتَقَاوِمُ	يَتُقَوِّوِمُ
	يُصَايِرُ	يُصَايِرُ	يَنْصَيِّرُ	يَنْصَيَّرُ	يَنْصَايِرُ	يَنْصَوِّوِرُ
Imperat.	قَاوِم		تَقَوِّم		تَقَاوِم	
	صَايِر		نَصَيِّر		نَصَايِر	
Part.	مُقَاوِمٌ	مُقَاوِمٌ	مُنَقَوِّمٌ	مُنَقَوِّمٌ	مُنَقَاوِمٌ	مُنَقَاوِمٌ
	مُصَايِرٌ	مُصَايِرٌ	مُنْصَيِّرٌ	مُنْصَيِّرٌ	مُنْصَايِرٌ	مُنْصَايِرٌ
Verb. subst.	قَوَامٌ صَيَايِرٌ		تَقَوِّمٌ نَصَيِّرٌ		تَقَاوِمٌ نَصَايِرٌ	

Paradigms

	IV Form	IV Form	VII Form	VIII Form	X Form
Perf. act.					
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	أَقَامَ	أَصَارَ	إِنْقَامَ	إِقْتَامَ	إِسْتَقَامَ
<i>1.</i>	أَقَمْتُ	أَصَرْتُ	إِنْقَمْتُ	إِقْتَمْتُ	إِسْتَقَمْتُ
Perf. pass.					
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	أُقِمَ	أُصِرَ	أُنْقِمَ	أُقْتِمَ	أُسْتَقِمَ
<i>1.</i>	أُقِمْتُ	أُصِرْتُ	أُنْقِمْتُ	أُقْتِمْتُ	أُسْتَقِمْتُ
Imperf. act.					
<i>pass.</i>	يُقَامُ	يُصَارُ	يُنْقَامُ	يُقْتَامُ	يُسْتَقَامُ
Juss. act.					
<i>pass.</i>	يَقُمْ	يُصِرْ	يَنْقُمْ	يَقْتُمْ	يُسْتَقُمْ
Imperat. <i>Sg. m.</i>					
<i>f.</i>	أَقِمِي	أَصِرِي	إِنْقَامِي	إِقْتَامِي	إِسْتَقِمِي
Active part.					
<i>pass.</i>	مُقَامٌ	مُصَارٌ	مُنْقَامٌ	مُقْتَامٌ	مُسْتَقَامٌ
Verbal subst.	إِقَامَةٌ	إِصَارَةٌ	إِنْقِيَامٌ	إِقْتِيَامٌ	إِسْتِقَامٌ

11. III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (I)					
	Perfect Active				Perf. Passive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	رَمَى	دَعَا	لَقِيَ	سَرَوْ	دُعِيَ
<i>3. f.</i>	رَمَتْ	دَعَتْ	لَقِيَتْ	سَرَوَتْ	دُعِيَتْ
<i>2. m.</i>	رَمَيْتَ	دَعَوْتَ	لَقَيْتَ	سَرَوْتَ	دُعِيتَ
<i>2. f.</i>	رَمَيْتِ	دَعَوْتَ	لَقَيْتِ	سَرَوْتَ	دُعِيتِ
<i>1.</i>	رَمَيْتُ	دَعَوْتُ	لَقَيْتُ	سَرَوْتُ	دُعِيتُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	رَمَيَا	دَعَوَا	لَقِيَا	سَرَوَا	دُعِيَا
<i>3. f.</i>	رَمَتَا	دَعَتَا	لَقِيَتَا	سَرَوَتَا	دُعِيَتَا
<i>2.</i>	رَمَيْتُمَا	دَعَوْتُمَا	لَقَيْتُمَا	سَرَوْتُمَا	دُعِيتُمَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	رَمَوْا	دَعَوْا	لَقَوْا	سَرَوْا	دُعُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	رَمَيْنَ	دَعَوْنَ	لَقَيْنَ	سَرَوْنَ	دُعِينَ
<i>2. f.</i>	رَمَيْتُمْ	دَعَوْتُمْ	لَقَيْتُمْ	سَرَوْتُمْ	دُعِيتُمْ
<i>2. f.</i>	رَمَيْتُنَّ	دَعَوْتُنَّ	لَقَيْتُنَّ	سَرَوْتُنَّ	دُعِيتُنَّ
<i>1.</i>	رَمَيْنَا	دَعَوْنَا	لَقَيْنَا	سَرَوْنَا	دُعِينَا

	Imperfect Active				Imperf. Pass.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يُزِمِي	يُدْعُو	يُلْقِي	يَسْرُو	يُدْعَى
<i>3. f.</i>	تَزِمِي	تُدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تَسْرُو	تُدْعَى
<i>2. m.</i>	تَزِمِي	تُدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تَسْرُو	تُدْعَى
<i>2. f.</i>	تَزِمِينَ	تُدْعِينَ	تُلْقِينَ	تَسْرِينَ	تُدْعَيْنَ
<i>1.</i>	أَزِمِي	أُدْعُو	أُلْقِي	أَسْرُو	أُدْعَى
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يَزِمَانِ	يَدْعَوَانِ	يُلْقِيَانِ	يَسْرَوَانِ	يُدْعَيَانِ
<i>3. f.</i>	تَزِمَانِ	تَدْعَوَانِ	تُلْقِيَانِ	تَسْرَوَانِ	تُدْعَيَانِ
<i>2.</i>	تَزِمَانِ	تَدْعَوَانِ	تُلْقِيَانِ	تَسْرَوَانِ	تُدْعَيَانِ
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يَزْمُونُ	يَدْعُونُ	يُلْقُونُ	يَسْرُونُ	يُدْعَوُنُ
<i>3. f.</i>	يَزْمِينَ	يَدْعُونَ	يُلْقِينَ	يَسْرُونَ	يُدْعَيْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	تَزْمُونُ	تَدْعُونُ	تُلْقُونُ	تَسْرُونُ	تُدْعَوُنُ
<i>2. f.</i>	تَزْمِينَ	تَدْعُونَ	تُلْقِينَ	تَسْرُونَ	تُدْعَيْنَ
<i>1.</i>	تَزِمِي	تَدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تَسْرُو	تُدْعَى
	Subjunctive Active			Subj. Pass.	
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يَزِمِي	يُدْعُو	يُلْقِي	يُدْعَى	
<i>3. f.</i>	تَزِمِي	تُدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تُدْعَى	
<i>2. m.</i>	تَزِمِي	تُدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تُدْعَى	
<i>2. f.</i>	تَزِمِي	تَدْعِي	تُلْقِي	تُدْعَى	
<i>1.</i>	أَزِمِي	أُدْعُو	أُلْقِي	أُدْعَى	
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يَزِمَا	يَدْعُوا	يُلْقِيَا	يُدْعَيَا	
<i>3. f.</i>	تَزِمَا	تَدْعُوا	تُلْقِيَا	تُدْعَيَا	
<i>2. f.</i>	تَزِمَا	تَدْعُوا	تُلْقِيَا	تُدْعَيَا	
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يَزْمُوا	يَدْعُوا	يُلْقُوا	يُدْعَوُوا	
<i>3. f.</i>	يَزْمِينَ	يَدْعُونَ	يُلْقِينَ	يُدْعَيْنَ	
<i>2. m.</i>	تَزْمُوا	تَدْعُوا	تُلْقُوا	تُدْعَوُوا	
<i>2.</i>	تَزْمِينَ	تَدْعُونَ	تُلْقِينَ	تُدْعَيْنَ	
<i>1.</i>	تَزِمِي	تَدْعُو	تُلْقِي	تُدْعَى	

	Jussive Active			Juss. Pass.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّ	يُذَعِّغُ	يُلْقَى	يُذَعِّغُ
<i>3. f.</i>	تُذِمُّ	تُذَعِّغُ	تُلْقَى	تُذَعِّغُ
<i>2. m.</i>	تُذِمُّ	تُذَعِّغُ	تُلْقَى	تُذَعِّغُ
<i>2. f.</i>	تُذِمُّ	تُذَعِّغُ	تُلْقَى	تُذَعِّغُ
<i>1.</i>	أُذِمُّ	أُذَعِّغُ	أُلْقَى	أُذَعِّغُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّنَا	يُذَعِّغُونَا	يُلْقَيْنَا	يُذَعِّغُونَا
<i>3. f.</i>	تُذِمُّنَا	تُذَعِّغُونَا	تُلْقَيْنَا	تُذَعِّغُونَا
<i>2.</i>	تُذِمُّنَا	تُذَعِّغُونَا	تُلْقَيْنَا	تُذَعِّغُونَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّوْا	يُذَعِّغُوْا	يُلْقَوْا	يُذَعِّغُوْا
<i>3. f.</i>	يُذِمُّنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ	يُلْقَيْنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>2. m.</i>	تُذِمُّوْا	تُذَعِّغُوْا	تُلْقَوْا	تُذَعِّغُوْا
<i>2.</i>	تُذِمُّنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ	تُلْقَيْنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>1.</i>	نُذِمُّ	نُذَعِّغُ	نُلْقَى	نُذَعِّغُ

	Energetic I Active			Energ. I Pass.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ	يُلْقَيْنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>3. f.</i>	تُذِمُّنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ	تُلْقَيْنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>2. f.</i>	تُذِمُّنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ	تُلْقَيْنَّ	تُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّنَا	يُذَعِّغُونَا	يُلْقَيْنَا	يُذَعِّغُونَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	يُذِمُّنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ	يُلْقَيْنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ
<i>3. f.</i>	يُذِمُّنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ	يُلْقَيْنَّ	يُذَعِّغُونَّ

	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Form VI
Perf. act.					
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	لَقَى	لَاقَى	أَلَقَى	تَلَقَى	تَلَاقَى
<i>I.</i>	لَقَيْتُ	لَاقَيْتُ	أَلَقَيْتُ	تَلَقَيْتُ	تَلَاقَيْتُ
Perf. pass.	لُقِيَ	لُوقِيَ	أُلْقِيَ	تُلْقِيَ	تُلُوقِيَ
Imperf. act.	يُلْقِي	يَلْأَقِي	يُلْقِي	يَتَلَقَى	يَتَلَاقَى
pass.	يُلْقَى	يَلْأَقَى	يُلْقَى	يَتَلْقَى	يَتَلَاقَى
Subj. act.	يُلْقِي	يَلْأَقِي	يُلْقِي	يَتَلْقَى	يَتَلَاقَى
Juss. act.	يَلْقُ	يَلْأَقِ	يَلْقِ	يَتَلَقُ	يَتَلَاقِ
pass.	يَلْقَ	يَلْأَقِ	يَلْقَ	يَتَلَقَ	يَتَلَاقَ
Active part.	مَلَقَ	مَلْأَقَ	مَلَقَ	مَتَلَقَ	مَتَلَاقَ
pass.	مُلْقَى	مُلْأَقَى	مُلْقَى	مُتَلْقَى	مُتَلَاقَى
Imperat.	لَقْ	لَاقْ	أَلَقْ	تَلَقْ	تَلَاقْ
Verbal subst.	تَلْقِيَةٌ	لِقَاءٌ	إِلْقَاءٌ	تَلَقٌّ	تَلَاقٌ

	Form VII	Form VIII	Form IX	Form X
Perf. act.				
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	إِنْلَقَى	إِنْتَقَى	إِزْعَوَى	إِسْتَلَقَى
<i>I.</i>	إِنْلَقَيْتُ	إِنْتَقَيْتُ	إِزْعَوَيْتُ	إِسْتَلَقَيْتُ
Imperf. act.	يَنْلَقِي	يَنْتَقِي	يَزْعَوِي	يَسْتَلْقِي
pass.	يَنْلَقَى	يَنْتَقَى	يَزْعَوَى	يَسْتَلْقَى
Subj. act.	يَنْلَقِي	يَنْتَقِي	يَزْعَوِي	يَسْتَلْقِي
Juss. act.	يَنْلِقُ	يَنْتَقِ	يَزْعَوِ	يَسْتَلِقُ
pass.	يَنْلَقَ	يَنْتَقَ	يَزْعَوَ	يَسْتَلَقَ
Active part.	مَنْلَقَ	مَنْتَقَ	مَزْعَوَ	مَسْتَلَقَ
pass.	مُنْلَقَى	مُنْتَقَى	مَزْعَوَى	مَسْتَلْقَى
Imperat.	إِنْلِقْ	إِنْتَقِ	إِزْعَوِ	إِسْتَلِقْ
Verbal subst.	إِنْلِقَاءٌ	إِنْتِقَاءٌ	إِزْعَوَاءٌ	إِسْتِلْقَاءٌ

Imperative						
<i>Sg. m.</i>	إِزْمِ		أُذْعِ		إِلْقِ	
<i>f.</i>	إِزِمِي		أُذِعِي		إِلْقِي	
<i>Du.</i>	إِزْمِيَا		أُذْعُوا		إِلْقِيَا	
<i>Pl. m.</i>	إِزْمُوا		أُذْعُوا		إِلْقُوا	
<i>f.</i>	إِزِمِينَ		أُذْعُون		إِلْقِينَ	
Participle						
<i>Sg. m.</i>	Active			Passive		
	زَام	ذَاع	لَاقِ	مَزِمِي	مَذْعُو	مَلْقِي
<i>f.</i>	زَامِيَّة	ذَاعِيَّة	لَاقِيَّة	مَزِمِيَّة	مَذْعُوَّة	مَلْقِيَّة

12. I-w – III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (I)						
	Active			Passive		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	وَفَى	يَفِي	يَفْ	وُفِيَ	يُوفَى	يُوفَ
<i>3. f.</i>	وَفَتْ	تَفِي	تَفْ	وُفِيتْ	تُوفَى	تُوفَ
<i>2. m.</i>	وَفَيْتَ	تَفِي	تَفْ	وُفِيتَ	تُوفَى	تُوفَ
<i>2. f.</i>	وَفَيْتِ	تَفَيْنَ	تَفِي	وُفِيتِ	تُوفَيْنِ	تُوفِي
<i>1.</i>	وَفَيْتُ	أَفِي	أَفْ	وُفِيتُ	أُوفَى	أُوفَ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	وَفَيَا	يَفَيَانِ	يَفَيَا	وُفِيَا	يُوفَيَانِ	يُوفَيَا
<i>3. f.</i>	وَفَيَا	تَفَيَانِ	تَفَيَا	وُفِيَا	تُوفَيَانِ	تُوفَيَا
<i>2.</i>	وَفَيْتُمَا	تَفَيَانِ	تَفَيَا	وُفِيَتُمَا	تُوفَيَانِ	تُوفَيَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	وَفَوْا	يَفُونُ	يَفُوا	وُفُوا	يُوفُونَ	يُوفُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	وَفَيْنَ	يَفَيْنَ	يَفَيْنَ	وُفَيْنَ	يُوفَيْنَ	يُوفَيْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	وَفَيْتُمْ	تَفُونُ	تَفُوا	وُفَيْتُمْ	تُوفُونَ	تُوفُوا
<i>2. f.</i>	وَفَيْتِ	تَفَيْنَ	تَفَيْنَ	وُفِيَتِ	تُوفَيْنَ	تُوفَيْنَ
<i>1.</i>	وَفَيْتَا	نَفِي	نَفْ	وُفِيَتَا	نُوفَى	نُوفَ
Imperative <i>Sg. m.</i> فِ فِي <i>f.</i> فِ Du. <i>Pl. m.</i> فُوا <i>f.</i> فِين						
Act. part. <i>Sg. m.</i> وَاب <i>f.</i> وَافِيَة Pass. part. <i>Sg. m.</i> مَوْفِي <i>f.</i> مَوْفِيَة						

13. II-y – III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (Active)			
	Perfect	Imperfect	Jussive
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	حَيَّيْ/حَيَّ	يَحْيِي/يَحْيِي	يَحْيِ
<i>Sg. m.</i>	حَيَّيْتُ/حَيَّث	يَحْيِي/يَحْيِي	يَحْيِ
<i>2. m.</i>	حَيَّيْتُ	يَحْيِي/يَحْيِي	يَحْيِ
<i>2. f.</i>	حَيَّيْتُ	يَحْيِيْنَ/يَحْيِيْنَ	يَحْيِيْ/يَحْيِيْ
<i>1.</i>	حَيَّيْتُ	أَحْيَا/أَحْيِ	أَحْيِ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	حَيَّيَا/حَيَّا	يَحْيِيَانِ	يَحْيِيَا
<i>3. f.</i>	حَيَّيْتَا/حَيَّتَا	تَحْيِيَانِ	تَحْيِيَا
<i>2.</i>	حَيَّيْتُمَا	تَحْيِيَانِ	تَحْيِيَا
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	حَيَّوْا/حَيُّوْا	يَحْيُوْنَ/يَحْيُوْنَ	يَحْيُوا/يَحْيُوا
<i>3. f.</i>	حَيَّيْنَ	يَحْيِيْنَ	يَحْيِيْنَ
<i>2. m.</i>	حَيَّيْتُمْ	تَحْيُوْنَ/تَحْيُوْنَ	تَحْيُوا/تَحْيُوا
<i>2. f.</i>	حَيَّيْتُنَّ	تَحْيِيْنَ	تَحْيِيْنَ
<i>1.</i>	حَيَّيْنَا	نَحْيِيْ/نَحْيِيْ	نَحْيِ
Participle <i>Sg. m.</i> حَيَّ f. حَيَّة			
Imperat. <i>Sg. m.</i> اِحْيِ f. اِحْيِيْ Du. اِحْيِيَا Pl. m. اِحْيُوْا f. اِحْيِيْنَ			

14. 4-Radical Verbs

Active				
	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf.	خَرَطَمَ	تَخَرَطَمَ	إِخْرَطَمَ	إِخْرَطَمَ
Imperf.	يُخْرِطُ	يَتَخَرَطَمُ	يُخْرِطُ	يُخْرِطُ
Juss.	يُخْرِطْ	يَتَخَرَطَمْ	يُخْرِطْ	يُخْرِطْ / يُخْرِطَمْ / يُخْرِطَمْ
Imperat.	خْرِطْ	تَخَرَطَمْ	إِخْرِطْ	إِخْرِطْ / إِخْرِطْ
Part.	خَرِطٌ	مُتَخَرِطٌ	خَرِطٌ	خَرِطٌ
Verb. subst.	خَرِطَةٌ	تَخَرِطٌ	إِخْرِطٌ	إِخْرِطٌ
Form IV (Active)				
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	
Sg. 3. m.	إِخْرِطَ	يُخْرِطُ	يُخْرِطُ / يُخْرِطَمْ / يُخْرِطَمْ	
1.	إِخْرِطْتُ	أُخْرِطُ	أُخْرِطُ / أُخْرِطَمْ / أُخْرِطَمْ	
Pl. 3. m.	إِخْرِطُوا	يُخْرِطُونَ	يُخْرِطُوا	
3. f.	إِخْرِطْنَ	يُخْرِطْنَ	يُخْرِطْنَ	
Passive				
	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf.	خُرِطَ	تُخْرِطُ	أُخْرِطَ	أُخْرِطَ
Imperf.	يُخْرِطُ	يَتَخْرِطُ	يُخْرِطُ	يُخْرِطُ
Juss.	يُخْرِطْ	يَتَخْرِطْ	يُخْرِطْ	يُخْرِطْ / يُخْرِطْ / يُخْرِطْ
Part.	خَرِطٌ	مُتَخَرِطٌ	خَرِطٌ	خَرِطٌ

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³1945 signifies the third edition.

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Journal Abbreviations

AIEO	Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales (Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger)
ArOr	Archiv Orientální (Československá Akademie věd: Orientální – Úststav, Praha)
BEO	Bulletin d'Études Orientales (Institut Français de Damas)
BFA	Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Cairo – Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven/Ann Arbor
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester
MMAD	Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq (Revue de l'Academie Arab, Damas)
MMLA	Majallat Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, al-Qāhirah
MO	Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig/Berlin
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma
SI	Studia Islamica, Paris
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, Berlin
ZAL	Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik, Wiesbaden
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig/Wiesbaden
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik, Leipzig

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